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## "What Needs My Shakespeare?"

WILLIAM HALLER

 ANY quotations from many authors praising Shakespeare are inscribed here and there on the walls of this building.<sup>1</sup> But I should like to begin by reminding you that the quotation inscribed above the entrance to the inner sanctum where the books are kept is, most appropriately, drawn from John Milton. It is appropriate that this should be so because that is where the scholars go in, and Milton was himself a scholar, the greatest among English poets as well as the greatest poet among English scholars. But it is even more appropriate because Milton is beyond question the other supreme poet of that age which has meant so much to all people who still speak the language of Milton and Shakespeare. Shakespeare and Milton in contrasting but complementary and not opposing ways are the two great representative poets of England's heroic age. More than any other writers they represent the intertwining of Renaissance and Reformation in the life of a people in whom the medieval heritage was still very much alive.

Milton's words over the entrance to the reading room propound a question which suggests my theme. "What needs my Shakespeare," he asks, "for his honour'd Bones?" and I take that to mean, what do the scholars, who pass daily through that archway, for the purpose, as Milton would say, of beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies, what do they most need to do in these times, to honor Shakespeare's memory of course, but more important even than that, to promote a true understanding of his work, of his time, and of the work of the other poets of his time? Milton says, in answer to his own question, that Shakespeare does not need "the labour of an age in piled stones" or "star y-pointing pyramid," that he needs nothing in fact but his own "unvalu'd Book." And if that were really all, the spirits of both Shakespeare and Milton could rest in peace, seeing how the book is valued, a thing beyond price, here in the Folger Library. But I sometimes wonder what Shakespeare himself would have replied to Milton's question and what he would think of the ways in which scholars occupy themselves with his book and his memory in places such as this. He seems himself not to have valued the book enough to make certain that it would reach scholars in a form they could approve. Can it be that the author of the plays did not care whether or not we should ever know beyond peradventure what Falstaff babbled of on his death-bed or what really happened in *Hamlet* or exactly when the sonnets were written? (Milton would have taken pains about such matters.)

<sup>1</sup> This article is adapted from a lecture given on the celebration of Shakespeare's birthday in the Elizabethan theater of the Folger Shakespeare Library, April 23, 1951.

If Milton were to walk into the Folger Library one day, he would make straight for the reading room, but Shakespeare, I am sure, would head for this place, and I am afraid he might be disappointed at what he found going on here this evening. He was a man of the theater not of the library, and if we were bent upon honoring him in his own way, we ought to be putting on a play rather than a lecture. But what Mr. Folger did was to collect books, build a library, and let in scholars. And if scholars are to honor Shakespeare, they must do so in their own way, not forgetting, however, in their own way, what manner of man Shakespeare was in his own time. He for his part was not a scholar or even a writer of books but a player and a maker of plays, and as such he put first the things that an artist of integrity in the theater must always put first. That is, he thought more about his audience than he did about posterity, more about the play he was putting on at the moment than about the book he might one day publish, more about immediate effect on the stage of the Globe Playhouse than about posthumous fame. Yet we who come after know that when the play is over and players and playwright have gone home and been gathered to the dust, the play-books are likely to remain and eventually find their way into print. I do not know whether Mr. Folger ever saw a play of Shakespeare acted on a stage at Amherst—I very much doubt it—but we do know that he heard a lecture on Shakespeare by Ralph Waldo Emerson, that he presently went out and bought one copy of Shakespeare's book, and that after that he bought another and another and another. In the event, no matter how many copies of Shakespeare were put by him and his successors beside that original one, other books beyond number had to be added until we have here now in Mr. Folger's library more books by and about Shakespeare and the age to which he belonged than are to be found in almost any other place on earth.

This is as it should be, and yet the gathering, the possession, and the wise utilization of such a collection of books is a grave responsibility. For books, as Milton says, "are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progenie they are." Therefore, he said, we must have a vigilant eye how books demean themselves. We must be ready to do justice upon them when they offend the canons of good taste and sound reason. So again let me say that Milton's question over the entrance to the reading room comes to this. What should we be doing who come here not to act Shakespeare's plays but to read and write books about them and pass judgment upon them and upon whatever has been written about them? What subjects relating to Shakespeare ought scholars now to be most certain not to neglect? What kinds of books about Shakespeare most need to be written in our own times?

Let me note first of all that many books have had to be written because of the special circumstances in which the plays of Shakespeare were first produced and published. The condition of the actual book or books and of the text or texts in which the plays have come to us has presented a difficult and unusual technical problem. There have also been many questions to pique curiosity concerning Shakespeare's birth, rearing, family, and career, matters about which he was much less communicative than we could wish. There has been the whole business of his theater, its design and management, and so of play-writing, play-acting, and play-going in his time. There has been the matter of his



plots and characters, from what sources he drew them and what he did to make them live upon the stage. None of these problems, I suppose, has been settled to the complete satisfaction of every Shakespearian scholar, and possibly never will be. Nevertheless Shakespeare's sources are now fairly well known. The kind of theater for which he wrote is now in its main features well understood. His life-story need be no secret to anyone. And as for his text, Shakespeare's plays exist in print in numerous editions and unnumbered copies in a condition which no one would say is exactly as it left Shakespeare's hand but which is substantially Shakespeare and is known and enjoyed as such. Additions to our knowledge of all such matters will not cease to be made, and it is important that they should be made. Nevertheless the truth is that such additions are not likely to grow more numerous or significant. There is on the other hand a very real danger that energy and ingenuity that might be better spent will be wasted by scholars and hobbyists in misguided efforts to startle the world by conjuring more and more unsuspected discoveries out of the few facts already known, discoveries not quite demonstrable and not important even if true. The really important thing is that Shakespeare should continue to be read and understood. But the Shakespeare our people will continue to read, if they read him at all, will on the whole be Shakespeare as we have him now, and if they fail to understand what they read, it will not be for lack of an intelligible text in well-annotated critical editions or of a sufficient account of the man in his habit as he lived.

If people cease to read and understand Shakespeare, as they may very well do, it will be because they have lost understanding of, belief in, the whole conception of the order of things, the body of ideals, and scale of values, in which Shakespeare's mind and the minds of the great poets of his age lived and moved and had their being. If books are indeed the progeny of that soul that brought them forth, we must have some knowledge of the soul whose progeny they are. But no human soul lives in a void, nor can we understand Shakespeare as though he were pinnaced in some intense inane. Yes, I know that we are told that he requires no explaining which a whole heart and a free mind cannot supply. I know the quick spontaneous momentary delight that the greatest poets have it in them to inspire. I know very well that Ben Jonson assured the purchasers of the first folio that its author was not of an age but for all time. But if anyone thinks that the simple exposure of ignorant, confused, immature minds to Shakespeare's poetry in its depth and reach is all that is needed for comprehension and enjoyment, let him consider some of the things said by reviewers concerning certain recent Shakespearian performances on Broadway. Let him, indeed, read some of the books to be found on the shelves of the Folger Library. Shakespeare's most ardent admirers, devoted eulogists, and assiduous students have not always been his best friends. The way to promote enlightened understanding of Shakespeare is not to make a fetish of his book in all its intricate technical obscurities or to hold him up for wonderment as a unique being unlike all other authors of his own and every other age or to abstract him from his own context of place and time. This is not the way to see him in the light of eternity but to lose him in the mists of no time at all or in the narrowing beam of personal illusion or, it may be, delusion. If we ignore or reject Shakespeare's proper context, we are likely in the end to transmogify the author of the

plays into something like a wraith or a demigod, conceived in our own image by whatever name we choose to call him, Shakespeare's or another man's. The strange and wonderful things which fantastic brains have spun out of themselves concerning Shakespeare's plays are not merely an occasion for laughter. They are a sign of the corruption of scholarship. They show what can happen when scholars lose sight of the true end of learning which is in Matthew Arnold's language to understand the best that has been said and thought in the world or in Milton's more old-fashioned terms to repair the ruin made by our first parents and regain to know God aright.

We should never forget that Shakespeare himself, on the one occasion when, it is agreed, he really spoke out, declared that the purpose of a play was to hold the mirror up to nature, to show, he said, the very age and body of the time its form and pressure. By this he did not mean all time. A man who writes two plays a year to be acted by certain particular players before a particular audience in a particular theater, he above everything else is writing for a particular time. What has made Shakespeare's plays so uniquely interesting to later generations, over and above the genius that went into their composition, is the fact that they were written at a peculiarly memorable time for an audience that happened to be living at a moment of history of the most far-reaching significance for the future of England and the world. Such plays as these could not have been written much earlier or any later and have quite come to mean what they have meant to all of us up to now. In the next instant of time the people of Shakespeare's audience spread to the new world, indeed to the four corners of the earth, taking with them the language, the ideas, the books, the customs and laws of the England that had bred them, taking of course Shakespeare himself. This time for which he wrote was the great dynamic age, the very swarming time, of the English people, the prologue and curtain-raiser to the modern age for all people everywhere of whatever origin who were to speak Shakespeare's language and to live in some fashion or degree according to the scheme of things which Shakespeare's people brought with them from the England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus Shakespeare's audience became all of us who still, so to speak, bless the day that he was born, which is to say, still grasp something of that conception of life's meaning, the form and pressure of that time, mirrored in his plays.

The age to which Shakespeare held up the mirror may be said to have begun with the accession of Elizabeth a few years before his birth. It may be said to have begun at that time, providing we remember that every fruitful beginning is also a continuing of something that was there to begin with. Elizabeth's immediate predecessors on the throne, first Edward and then Mary, had each, in one way and another, attempted to break with the past. If either had lived, England would probably have entered upon such a period of inner strife and revolutionary violence as did occur on the continent. But Elizabeth was so placed that she could not pursue extreme courses and hope to survive, and she was interested in surviving. She became one of the great artists of her age, but the art she practised was the art of politics, which is the art of achieving the humanly possible under the given human conditions. Her accomplishment was to effect practical settlement, sufficient for the time being, of the great issues which were setting people everywhere else in Europe at violent odds with one

another. Thus her people gained time to develop their ancient institutions, to adjust their ways to the risks, responsibilities, and opportunities thrust upon them by world changes, to secure their national independence, and to do all these things without having to settle every difference among themselves instantly, consistently, or absolutely. Differences did not cease and disappear, but there sprang up in spite of them, fostered and symbolized by the great queen, a sense of community and commonalty which transcended differences and accustomed the English people to the practise of liberty in some degree within the framework of an ordered state. The people gained time to lay the basis for the characteristic English way of settling the great problem caused by the disruption of the historic church. The medieval ideal called for a universal empire of the spirit, comprehending all nations and breeds of men. The Reformation marked the final break-up of the institution embodying this conception. The Elizabethan settlement in effect acknowledged the fact of that disruption and laid the basis for a national state which, instead of being comprehended by the church, comprehended within itself all peaceable men of all churches, of all faiths and even of none at all. It left us, of course, with the problem still unsolved of developing an institution which should comprehend all states.

The Elizabethan age did not come to an end with the death of Elizabeth, but the Elizabethan system of government broke up in the Puritan Revolution, and that disruption was in effect confirmed after the Restoration in 1660. The result has been that English historians have tended to look back upon the age before 1660 with their thoughts upon the changes and divisions which became fixed in English life after that date. Preoccupied thus with the differences which were to set Englishmen apart into the classes, denominations, parties, and national communities of the future, they have sometimes lost sight of the common elements in English experience in the lifetime of Shakespeare and Milton. This is not to say that the seeds of difference which finally came to fruition in the struggle between king and parliament were not present from the moment Elizabeth mounted the throne or that they were not steadily developing throughout the period. But we shall not understand the great age or its great poets unless we take account also of the unbroken continuity of English life through all its growing divisions, the common basis of tradition, the common roots in the past, out of which divisions sprang—Catholic, Anglican, and Puritan, royalist and parliamentary, English and American. We must especially not disregard the fact that Elizabethan Englishmen were Christian with memories reaching far back into the medieval past as well as Protestants and Catholics of one sort or another looking toward the secular future. We must not ignore the fact that historic Christian doctrine and the Christian epic were still the indispensable apparatus and vocabulary of thought and imagination. We must not dismiss as irrelevant and beneath notice those manifestations of religion in Shakespeare's time which seem to us alien and hostile to the things Shakespeare seems to us to have stood for. We must not assume that religion in general or the moral values and attitudes associated with religious belief were to him matters either distasteful or unimportant.

Nevertheless the middle ages drew to an end. Something we may call the Renaissance did occur. Something we may call the Reformation also occurred, and in England Renaissance and Reformation happened at the same time to

very many of the same people. One aspect of this dual occurrence was of the greatest practical significance, a significance easily overlooked. That is, the full effect of the printing press on the life of the people was now felt for the first time. Within what we commonly call the Elizabethan age, that is to say, within the span of no more than two lifetimes, the greatest number of the most important and exciting books in the world were put into English print. Between about the time of Shakespeare's birth in 1564 and Milton's death in 1674 the scriptures, the classics, and much of the literature derived from them were made fully available to the English people in one form or another in their own tongue in print. Elizabeth had hardly taken her place on the throne when the Protestant exiles were back from the continent with an English Bible printed in manageable form. This Geneva Bible, so-called, was issued again and again and was not superseded in popular use until after the authorized version of 1611. But the effect of the Bible on the production of books did not stop with the Bible itself. In its various versions it also gave occasion for an extensive and ever-growing literature of edification and explication, and the book-trade, battenning upon the demand for Bibles and books derived from the Bible, went on to publish all other kinds of books the public would buy. Let me name a few of the publications which appeared at the time of Elizabeth's accession and Shakespeare's birth. On the eve of the queen's coming in appeared Tottel's *Miscellany* with its English adaptations of Petrarch's verse. A translation of Virgil appeared in the very year. This was soon followed by translations of Seneca's tragedies, and in the year of Shakespeare's birth by Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In 1561 was published Thomas Hoby's version of Castiglione's *Courtier* and Thomas Norton's version of Calvin's *Institutes*. In 1566, while Shakespeare was still in the cradle, appeared William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, with stories from Boccaccio and Bandello. Beside translations, books of homebred authorship also came from the press in quick succession, the *Mirror for Magistrates* in 1558, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* in 1563, Sackville and Norton's *Gorboduc*, the first English blank verse tragedy, in 1564.

There is no need for me to list here the continuing flood of printed books which began at the accession of Elizabeth and rose higher and higher the nearer the nation drew to the great crisis of the seventeenth century. It should be enough to refer you to the year-by-year files of the *Short Title Catalogue* and the shelves of the Folger Library. There had been books in England before Caxton set up his printing press in 1475; there had been printed books before Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, but there had never been such books in such abundance as came from the press in the lifetimes of Shakespeare and Milton. On the eve of their swarming out into the modern world, Shakespeare's audience, Milton's public, paused, so to speak, just long enough to catch up in their reading of the literature of their European past and to establish their vernacular in a literature of their own, embodying the great traditions of their civilization. And this literature, thanks to the printing press, they took with them wherever they went, and they went everywhere. Differences and divisions of many sorts might in future spring up among them and their descendants. The historic church, the civil state, both might be disrupted; but the language and literature of the great age and the conception of life there set forth—"that seasoned life of man preserved and stored up in Books"—these would still remain a common and unifying possession.

The scriptures, the classics, and the many books of many sorts evoked by each, in a word the Reformation and the Renaissance, coming to England in English dress, did not, needless to say, encounter anything like a cultural vacuum. The English mind in the sixteenth century was far from being a *tabula rasa*. Medieval conceptions of man and the universe, of law and right, of the structure of human relations in family, church, and state, of proper and appointed modes of living and dying, still held. It is true in a sense that Renaissance and Reformation introduced no new ideas, nothing not already present in the medieval complex. But though new ideas come few and far between, old ideas take on new life and meaning under new conditions and in new human situations. If ideas may be said to have a history at all, it is not the story of their passage in the abstract from book to book or even from mind to mind. The true history of ideas is rather the story of the interplay of ideas and experience, often of old ideas and new experience, in the lives of the people to whom they have occurred. And if people make meaning out of experience by the light of their ideas, it is also true that they make meaning out of their ideas in the light of their experience. People in Elizabethan times who went to the theater to see plays or to church to hear sermons or to bookstalls to buy books were all very much the same people with the same ideas in their heads, and their ideas were very much the same as their fathers' had been before them. But in the theater or from the pulpit or on the printed page ideas were now presented and had to be received in terms of that new range of intellectual and imaginative experience opened up to the English people by the flood of English printed books. The English people now in fact became something like that reading, discoursing, inventing people Milton pictured them to be in 1644 when trying to persuade the Long Parliament of the practical impossibility of denying such a people free access to all books whatsoever.

But—to return to my text—what needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones? What should we busy ourselves about in these days in such places as the Folger Library? The answer seems to me plain. It is not enough simply to inquire farther into the circumstances of his life and social background, to amend his text and trace his sources, to describe the physical and technical arrangements of his theater. Important as these things are, we might continue to do them all and yet find Shakespeare's greatest plays growing more nearly meaningless in the present state of society, not only Shakespeare but all the great poets of the Elizabethan age. We need also to understand and make clear those conceptions of the meaning of life which the contemporaries of Shakespeare and Milton assumed to be universal truths and which Shakespeare, Milton and the rest in their several ways embodied in their works. These ideas Shakespeare's audience brought with them to the theater, brought with them also to that competing place of entertainment and edification, the church or the conventicle, and they took their ideas away from either place and out into the modern world, vitalized and humanized in one way or another but essentially unchanged.

Shakespeare as well as Milton and most of their contemporaries still believed in the fall of man as unquestioningly as most of us still believe in the law of gravitation and some form of evolution. They believed, that is, that man and the universe were created and are governed by the will of God as it is revealed in his word and in his works, in the scriptures, and in nature and the



breast of man. God's will is law; law manifests itself in order; the essence of order lies in the reciprocal relationship of different forms of being throughout creation; the distinguishing characteristic of man lies in his ability to know and understand the law by which all creatures are governed; and upon his willingness to heed the law he has it in him to know depends his happiness here and hereafter. This was the order of creation in all its parts. It was to be seen in the relation of the elements composing matter, of the spheres encircling the earth, of all living things from plants and beasts to men and angels and of their faculties and attributes from brute sense and carnal appetite to right reason and pure intelligence. It was to be seen also in all the relations of family, church, and state. Every creature in its respective degree was a partial reflection of the whole and was required to fulfill all the functions and duties of its appointed station. But the obedience of men was free, and their disobedience was the uncompelled and wilful denial and transgression of the very law of their own being. When that happened, pride subverted charity, passion lorded it over reason, chaos displaced peace and order in the soul, the family, the state, the church, and all creation. This was the fall, that first disobedience which is the recurring experience of all mankind. The fate of those who will not learn but persist in disobedience is death. Life is the gift bestowed upon those who learn from experience to repent and submit. Hence every human soul is poised every moment on the edge of decision between life and death, and any human breast whatever may at any moment become the scene of contention between the spirit of hatred and rebellion against the law of its being and the love of that order which to love is to obey.

Here was the sacred legend of man's fall, his fateful responsibility for his own well-being, his possible redemption. Lesson and story had been set forth in many ways long before the advent of the printing press or of Shakespeare's theater—through the scriptures, the sacraments, and the pulpit, in edifices, pictures and images, in treatises, saints' tales, miracle and morality plays. New philosophy might for some minds put all things in doubt. Schism in the church might give rise to heresy and heresy to schism. Images of brass and stone might be cast down and the Word in vernacular print might be idolized instead. Nevertheless, new conditions at first merely gave the old assumptions new force and greater scope. Belief in a universal order of being of which they were a part still governed most men's thinking. The epic of spiritual war within the human breast, the inner drama of temptation and fall, repentance and forgiveness, leading in the final scene to punishment or redemption, retained their ancient hold upon the imagination, and gave meaning to every act of every individual and to human experience as a whole. They gave meaning to the plays that Shakespeare fashioned out of English chronicles, Italian novels, and other secular sources as well as to the epic Milton drew from the scriptures. And in spite of all the changes that have overtaken the world since the seventeenth century, they have not lost their meaning. We have learned that the structure and mechanics of the physical universe, from stars to atoms, from the amoeba to genes and chromosomes, are different from what Milton and Shakespeare supposed. We have learned that the history of mankind, from the old stone age to tomorrow's headlines, did not occur precisely as set down in the Biblical account of events from Genesis to Revelation. But who that reads the morning paper will

say that anything we have learned about man himself since Shakespeare and Milton wrote has taught us that their conception of the human soul with all its possibilities for good and evil is any less true than it ever was?

But the new conditions which in the time of Shakespeare and Milton gave greater scope to poets gave greater scope also to preachers, and the preachers had a kind of technical prior claim both to the sacred legend and to the use of the printing press. We have heard much of Puritan hostility to stage-plays, and our sympathies are naturally on the side of the stage. But we must not fail to note that the preachers saw the players and playwrights not only as enemies but as competitors. The most active and influential preachers were not as a rule the benefited clergy but the Puritan lecturers, so-called, who were paid, often very well, by voluntary contributions from the people they served. Their service was to preach, that is, to expound the scriptures for the edification and to the satisfaction of their hearers. Nobody, before the heyday of Puritanism, could be compelled to attend their ministrations or contribute to their support. Each depended for his success upon the exercise of his own skill and address in the art of the pulpit. If the players drew their livelihood from the gatherers' boxes—which is to say, the box-office—the preachers owed theirs no less to the contribution plate. The pulpit and the stage were rival attractions, appealing in a relatively free market to the same public, and the appeal of the pulpit was in its own way no less exciting to popular imagination. The preachers' object was not primarily dogmatic or polemical, and their effect upon the life of their time is not best seen in the tracts they directed at rivals and opponents but in the sermons and other works of edification they addressed to the people. They preached, as preachers commonly do, too often and too long for modern taste. But they thought as little about posterity as the players and playwrights did, and the important thing to understand, if we wish to understand the period, is what preachers did in the pulpit which audiences found so moving and convincing. What they did becomes clear enough to anyone with patience to read their sermons with a copy of the scriptures beside him. Like generations of preachers before them, they set forth the inner conflict with the evil one in which every soul is involved through the original fall of man. But the great theme of spiritual conflict could now be brought home to their hearers in terms of the book in their hearers' own hands, and what the book did was to make that well-worn theme appear more than ever humanly apposite and compelling.

The Bible was supposed to set forth a rule of life which any man could understand and strive to follow. But if the Bible had offered nothing more stirring to the imagination than a code of laws or a summation of doctrine, its effect would have been very different from what it turned out to be, and neither it nor its expositors could have competed successfully with the theater and with secular literature for popular attention. The Bible was also in fact a body of prophetic and apocalyptic poetry keyed to a great collection of stories about human life. It brought to its readers, between the covers of a printed book, a magnificent gallery of men and women in the most familiar relationships and important concerns of life, stories strangely moving in expression, dramatic in effect, immeasurably credible and provocative to unsophisticated imagination. On the explication of these poems and stories the preachers expended an effort



comparable only to the effort of a later generation of teachers to wring the last nuance of meaning out of Shakespeare and other secular poets. But, more important for this discussion here, the preachers in tireless iteration held the characters of scripture and their stories up as so many mirrors in which the people might see reflected in endless variation the same struggle of spiritual forces, the same inner drama of decision, to obey or not to obey, which every listener and reader was also told to look for in his own breast. I would not, of course, say that nothing like this had ever been said in the pulpit before the Bible was put into English, but not until the Bible was generally available in English print was it said so often to so many people with such effect. The difference may be quickly seen if we compare the sermons preached by Henry Smith in the decade of 1590 with the sermon Chaucer puts into the mouth of his parson on the way to Canterbury. Both preachers expounded the same theme of the fall of man. The one identified each of the seven deadly sins in the abstract; the other concretely described the experience of sinning. The one set up the categories of spiritual corruption which stand in the way of man's salvation; the other laid bare the motions of his wicked heart. The fourteenth-century sermon, in dramatic form, would give us a morality play. The sixteenth-century sermon would give us an Elizabethan tragedy.

Thus by the aid of the Bible the preachers humanized their presentation of the traditional conception of man's fall and redemption. But though they exploited the ancient theme for their own purposes with tireless iteration, they could not monopolize it. Marlowe and Shakespeare were drawing crowds to the theater at the moment when people were also going to hear Henry Smith at St. Clement Danes. We may assume that the moralists who condemned stage-plays never went to see one, or if they went they did not tell, but if their hearers had also stayed away, there would have been little need for any preacher to preach or write against the theater. The people who listened to sermons and read the Bible and the people who went to the theater and read profane books were not different people living in different worlds but the same people living in the same small world of Elizabethan London, and they brought the same notions of human nature and the meaning of life to the comprehension of a play as of a sermon. The theater no less than the pulpit, though probably no more, looked to the public for patronage and support. The playwrights to be sure left the scriptures to the preachers and turned to other sources for their material, but they took full advantage nevertheless of the new vitality being injected under the new conditions into the old conceptions. It was not long, therefore, before the old ideas concerning man's inner life were being put on the stage, embodied in characters and stories freely drawn from the secular literature which was being poured into English print at the same time as the scriptures.

From the traditional point of view, now doubly emphasized by the pulpit, all tragedy was in essence due to the fall of man. By long-established literary convention, it was exemplified in stories of the falls of princes and persons of high estate such as one could read in *The Mirror for Magistrates*. A mode of presenting tragedy, thus conceived, in the theater was suggested by the translations of Seneca's plays. Hence Christopher Marlowe was able to score his great success as a playwright by adapting the theme of the fall of man to the uses of

the popular stage. The audience which thrilled to Edward Alleyn in the role of Tamburlane or Faustus probably gave no thought to the question whether Marlowe was an atheist or free thinker. Its members knew well enough what to think of his heroes while savoring to the full the bombast and melodrama with which they were presented. Here was the improving but exciting spectacle of vaulting ambition that overleaps itself and falls on the other, of the aspiring soul finally cast down when it ventures beyond that station in the order of being to which it has been appointed. The people of Marlowe's audience were human and Elizabethan, and they no doubt exulted as Tamburlane drove the kings of Asia like pampered jades before him or when Faustus bartered his soul for knowledge to satisfy his thirst for power. But their pleasure was a fearful one, though none the less thrilling on that account, because they knew that Faustus could not escape the fate appointed for all those who sell their hope of salvation for the price rejected by the one greater man who put Satan behind him. They knew, as Mephistopheles and many a preacher told them, that for such sinners

Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed  
In one selfe place, for where we are is hell.

They knew, as the concluding chorus of Marlowe's play told them, that they were intended

Onely to wonder at unlawful things,  
Whose deepnesse doth intice such forward wits,  
To practise more than heavenly power permits.

Similarly contemporary playgoers were prepared to grasp the meaning of what happened in Shakespeare with less difficulty than some modern critics. There was no mystery in Hamlet apart from the familiar mystery of iniquity in general. Hamlet was everyman awakening again to the realization of his fall, but everyman individualized under the influence of humane letters. "How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty," yet Hamlet like the rest of us has to learn that this creature man, so like an angel, so like a god, this beauty of the world and paragon of animals, can give way to disobedience and passion, murder, lust, and ambition. And man thus fallen is no bloodless stiff abstraction, no alien unrelated creature, but as near in blood to Hamlet and to everyone of us as father, mother, uncle. The time is out of joint, is everyman's cry, O cursed spite that ever I was born to set it right. This is that doom, Milton exclaimed, that Adam fell into, of knowing good and evil, that is, of knowing good by evil. "We bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary." This was the tragedy of human life, but only thus, the audience well understood, could Adam or Hamlet or any of us in our fallen condition regain to know aright the divinity which shapes our ends.

Nor would the audience have been puzzled to understand sufficiently what happened to King Lear. The English people were more and more concerned as time went on with the problem of balancing love and obedience in family, church, and state, of providing for liberty while maintaining law, of preserving rights while respecting prerogative. In his plays on English history, early in his career, and again in *Julius Caesar*, Shakespeare dramatized the evil effects of

insubordination and rebellion in the state, but for obvious reasons he and his fellow-playwrights could go but just so far in treating the theme of obedience as it might appear in the relations of either state or church. He did, however, deal with it profoundly in a story of family life. The people who first saw *King Lear* upon the stage had been instructed time and again in the inseparable and inescapable but complementary duties of parents and children, and incidentally of husbands and wives and of rulers and subjects. As children they had been taught they must obey their parents. As parents they had been told they must love their children. But true obedience springs from love and only from love, and the true end of all love is obedience, that is to say, truly to serve the beloved, to submit willingly to that order of things which to know is to love and to love is to obey. Lear and his daughters have fallen into the first of all sins, namely pride, the love and worship of self, the beginning of all disobedience, deceit, hatred, hardness, enslavement to evil and disruption. What well-instructed man or woman in the audience could fail to see at once that Lear was a father who failed in his duty to his children while his children at the same time failed in theirs toward him? Who could not see that Cordelia loved her father but loved him less than she loved her own way and hated her sisters'? Or that the difference between Lear and Cordelia on the one hand and all the others is simply that through experience of evil, they came to know the good, to understand the great and mysterious law that in order to love we must be free but that to be free is to serve that which we love though we die for it.

The great queen passed away. A new monarch, with a new court, other ideas, a different notion of the reciprocal duties of rulers and subjects, came in. The tensions and divisions of public life increased. The Globe theater burned down at the first performance of what appears to have been Shakespeare's last play. Shakespeare died, and the theater, appealing to a more and more restricted audience, reflected less and less the ideals, standards, and tastes of the people. Meanwhile the Puritan preachers, exploiting the Bible, grew more numerous and vocal, and eventually put the theater out of business. It is not surprising therefore that the poet who speaks for the later stage of Renaissance and Reformation in England should have come not from the theater but in effect from the pulpit. Educated for the pulpit he still declared, when he turned to poetry instead, that poetry was of office beside the pulpit to civilize the people and cherish the seeds of virtue among them. Milton and Shakespeare are not usually thought of as kindred spirits, and the differences between them are obvious and important. There is also, however, something of great importance which they had in common. Together they express more profoundly than any other writers the traditional assumptions and affirmations of faith, enriched and vitalized by the new experience of books and ideas brought to bear upon the popular mind by the printing press. Shakespeare, to be sure, seems never to have thrust himself or his opinions forward, and Milton never to have held them back. But for neither poet was poetry in the mother tongue a merely private affair. For each it was the most public of all modes of discourse, a thing pre-eminently for public use and enjoyment. After Shakespeare's great tragedies, the most positive and compelling presentation of the great central theme of man's spiritual fall, struggle, and redemption is to be seen in the three great poems with which Milton concluded his career.

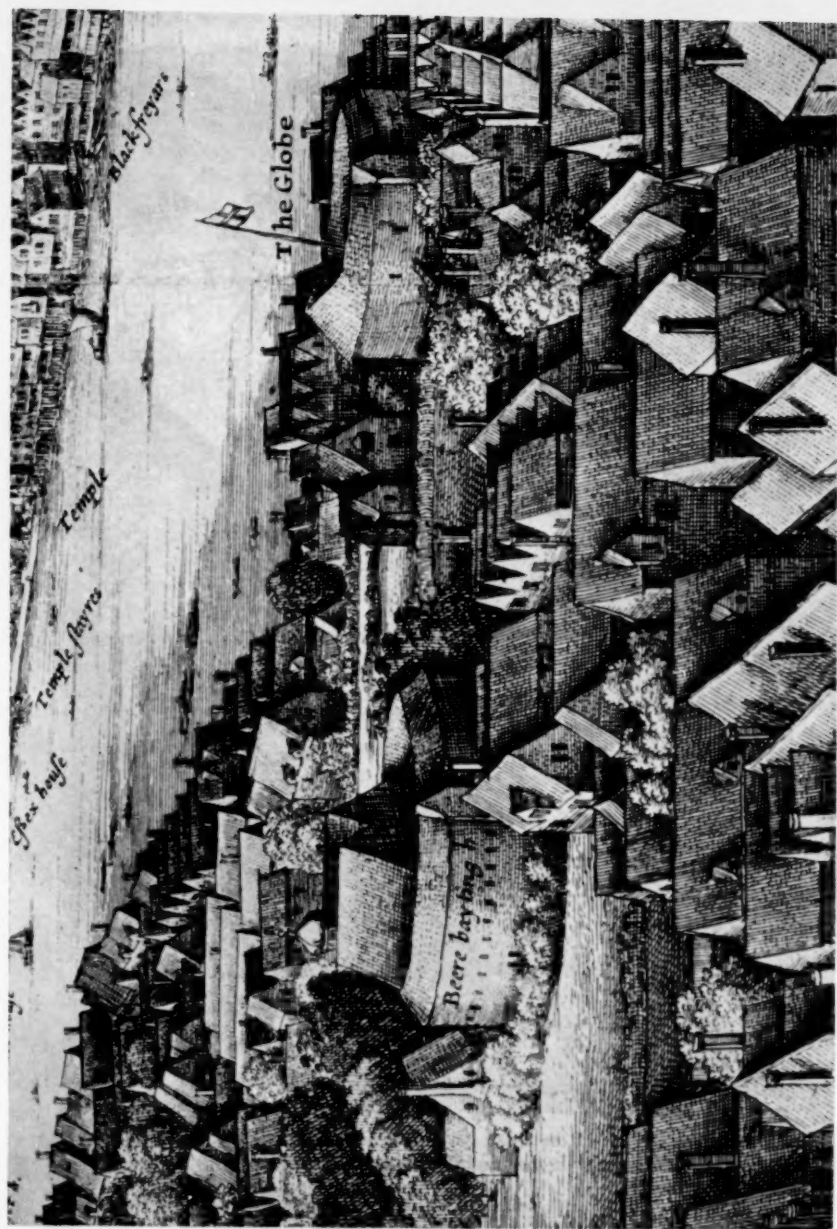
Shakespeare reflected the traditional conceptions of spiritual life which prevailed among his audience though he drew none of his plots or characters from the Bible. Milton drew his text and fable like any preacher from the scriptures, but he construed their form and meaning under the influence of humane letters, classical, Italian, and English. He at first planned his poem on the fall of man, as convention required, in the form of a tragedy. Parliament was at the moment closing the existing play houses, but in spite of that fact Milton proposed that the state should set up a kind of Attic theater to share with the pulpit the duty of instructing the people in wisdom and virtue. About the same time he drew up a list of subjects for tragedies he might himself write, obviously for such a theater. The list as we have it opens with four drafts for a drama on the fall of man, and according to report the poet began work on such a drama by composing a speech for Satan which eventually found its place in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's tragedy of "Adam Unparadiz'd" was never completed and when he at last settled down to write his poem on that theme, he had long since given up any notion that the Puritan commonwealth might make use of his gifts in a theater of its own. Hence, the poem took form finally as a neo-classical epic, but an epic which owes as much to Shakespeare and Marlowe as to Virgil and Tasso.

The author of *Paradise Lost*, though he cast his poem in epic form, explicitly excluded the classical epic themes represented by Achilles and Aeneas and went back or rather adhered to the great theme of Elizabethan and medieval tragedy, the theme too of innumerable sermons, the subject, namely, of man's temptation, fall, corruption, and life long spiritual struggle to regain true knowledge and love of God. With the aid of scripture, with the aid too of classical learning and a large measure of the new and disturbing knowledge of the physical universe, Milton was able to place the story of man's disobedience in a vast cosmic setting, and he accompanied the story by a bold statement in theological terms of what he took to be its universal meaning for human life. Nevertheless the success of his epic turns upon the great dramatic scenes of Satan's rebellion, of his casting out into the ever-deepening hell that opens within him, of his attack upon Adam and Eve in their innocence, of their love and of their temptation and fall, of their remorse, repentance, and promised redemption. It brings before us, as great tragedy should, the infinite possibilities for good and evil which life contains for all humanity. Everything else in Milton's poem is of the nature of choral comment. The power of the poem to command attention lies in this drama of a man and a woman involved with one another in the most basic of human relations and in the inescapable tragedy of human life, the doom that Adam fell into of knowing good and evil. These characters and this action owe nothing to the bodiless abstractions of the old morality plays. But neither were they directly inspired by Tasso, Virgil, or Homer, great though Milton's debt was to all three of those poets. The prototypes of his epic-drama were the great dramatic creations of Elizabethan tragedy. There had been little like them and nothing to equal them since Shakespeare. There would be nothing after them except his own tragedy of *Samson Agonistes*. In that extraordinary performance, Milton finally accomplished his original design to present his theme in the form of drama. But by that time Shakespeare's theater was dead and Shakespeare's audience was no more. Restoration comedy, the heroic play, so-called, in rime—Davenant, Dryden, Ether-

age, and Wycherley—held the stage. So Milton went back to the Greeks for the form of his drama and justified his writing such a thing at all out of Aristotle. But again he drew his fable from the scriptures and his theme, the fall of man, the same as before, from the same traditional faith which governed the imaginations of men and poets in the age now drawing to a close. Dryden, the poet of the new age, aspired to write heroic poetry and understood the theory of it—no man better—but skeptic that he was, the root of the matter was not in him.

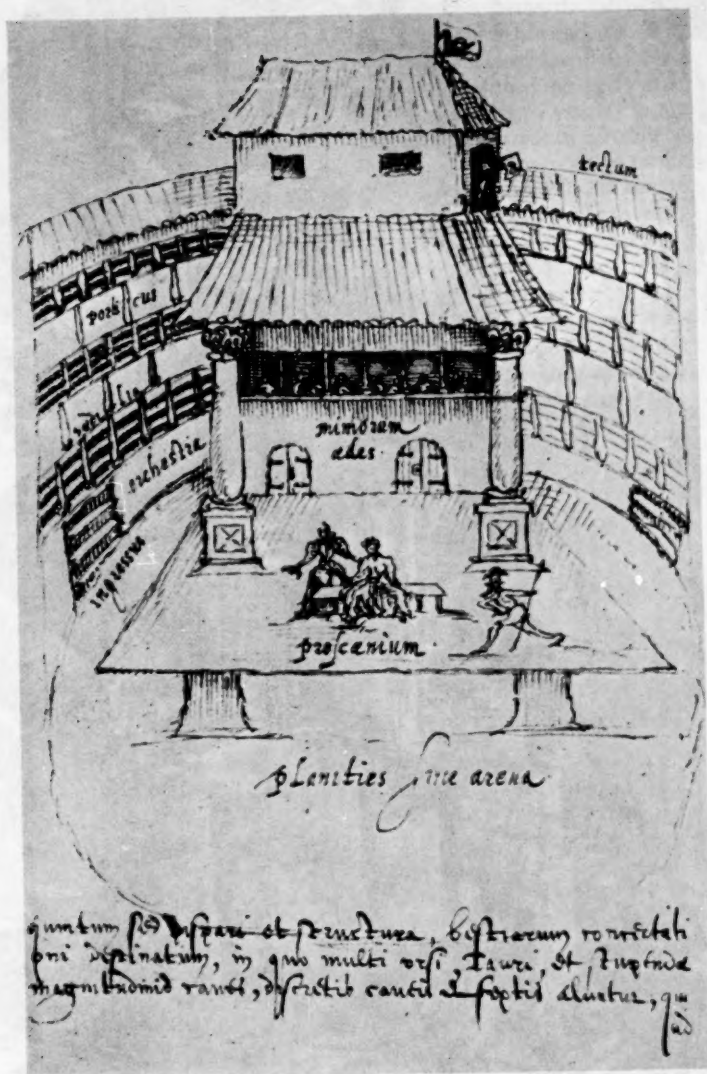
What needs my Shakespeare, if not for his honored bones, certainly for his unvalued book? If the generations now and to come are to go on reading Shakespeare with understanding and enjoyment, we need to edit and annotate the book, of course, but we need to do something else besides. We must present our Shakespeare as a man like other men, a poet like other poets, though the greatest of his age. We must present him as one who did indeed hold up the mirror to nature and show the time its very form and pressure. We must endeavor to understand that time, its form and pressure, a time when, it happened, poetry in the broadest sense, not science, not philosophy, not theology, was the art men turned to for the expression of their deepest thoughts and highest hopes.

### *The Folger Shakespeare Library*



The Second Globe and the Beergarden (with names interchanged). See pp. 17 and 75. (Courtesy of the Cambridge University Press.)





The interior of the Swan Playhouse. See pp. 17-20 and 75. (Reproduced through the courtesy of the Cambridge University Press.)



# The Entrance to the Elizabethan Theater

R. C. BALD



IT often happens, in the investigation of an archaeological or antiquarian problem, that a point is reached where it seems that all the pertinent facts that are ever likely to be discovered have been found. Thereafter there is still room for varying interpretations and conflicting theories; one may agree or disagree, but actual discovery is at an end. Such a point might well seem to have been reached with the publication in 1942 of J. C. Adams' book on the Globe Playhouse, but in the years since then several important pieces of new information about Southwark and the neighborhood of the theaters have been published. They not merely establish beyond all possibility of doubt the site of the Globe,<sup>1</sup> but vindicate the accuracy of Hollar's famous "long view" of London and Westminster,<sup>2</sup> published in 1647 at Amsterdam. Hollar's original sketch for this part of the view, presumably made from the tower of St. Mary Overies, is now known to exist,<sup>3</sup> but it appears to be established that when he engraved his plates in Holland some years later and was adding names to the various buildings he accidentally transposed the names of the Globe and the Beergarden.<sup>4</sup> Thus, instead of being, as it was to Adams, of "negligible" value, Hollar's engraving becomes of the utmost importance, since the building marked "Beere baiting" is actually a precise and careful representation by the foremost topographic artist of the day not, it is true, of Shakespeare's Globe, but of its successor, built on the same site after the original playhouse had been destroyed by fire in 1613 at the opening performance of *Henry VIII*. It is the purpose of these notes, therefore, to explore one of the consequences of the recent re-evaluation of the evidence available for determining the structure of the Elizabethan and Jacobean playhouse.

In all modern attempts to reconstruct the early playhouses—e.g., that of W. H. Godfrey for the Fortune and those of G. Topham Forrest and J. C.

<sup>1</sup> See I. A. Shapiro, "The Bankside Theatres: Early Engravings," *Shakespeare Survey* 1 (1948), 25-37, and the London County Council *Survey of London*, Vol. xxii (1950), Bankside, pp. 73-75, 133-35, and plate I.

<sup>2</sup> Shapiro, pp. 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> I. A. Shapiro, "An Original Drawing of the Globe Theatre," *Shakespeare Survey* 2 (1949), 21-23.

<sup>4</sup> This possibility was originally suggested in [W. W. Braines], *The Site of the Globe Playhouse Southwark*, 2d. ed., 1924, p. 60.

Adams for the Globe<sup>5</sup>—the main entrance is shown facing the stage. Access to the balconies was gained by staircases, which, according to Adams, were situated on both sides of a vestibule immediately inside the entrance door, and went up behind the galleries on the outside of the fabric. According to Forrest the upper galleries were reached by crossing the yard, mounting a brief flight of steps on either side of the stage into the lowest gallery, and passing through it to the external staircases at the back. Godfrey makes provision for three staircases in his reconstruction of the Fortune, all of them incorporated into the rectangular structure: one leading up from the yard immediately alongside the main entrance, the other two at each side of the stage, at the extremities of the galleries.

It is true that there is no precise evidence for the position of the entrance and staircase in Shakespeare's Globe or in the Fortune, but speculation on this matter seems unduly to have ignored two pieces of highly significant evidence. In view of what has already been said, it is perhaps not surprising that comparatively little attention has been paid in the past to Hollar's engraving, but the same excuse cannot be offered for the neglect of De Witt's famous drawing of the interior of the Swan. Even though we possess only a rough copy by De Witt's friend Arend Van Buchell of a sketch which in the original can have had small pretensions to draughtmanship, the importance of this drawing as the only contemporary representation of the interior of an Elizabethan playhouse has always been recognized.

The De Witt drawing shows an opening beneath the lowest gallery on the left side of the stage marked "ingressus"; a similar one on the right side has no inscription. Hollar's engraving shows that both the Beergarden and the second Globe had external (enclosed) staircases, each surmounted by a gable of its own, in positions roughly corresponding to the openings in the De Witt drawing. Yet, of the three reconstructions previously mentioned, Forrest's is the only one which has proceeded on the assumption that the external staircases of the Beergarden and second Globe might have any relevance to Shakespeare's Globe. However, his method of incorporating them into the structure without furnishing any means of access to them except through a front entrance, across the yard, and through the gallery has resulted in an arrangement neither economical nor convenient. What, one is tempted to ask, would have been the behavior of the groundlings towards late comers, who elbowed a passage among them on the way to the more expensive gallery seats?

Forrest is clearly aware of the relationship of the exterior staircases to the two openings from the yard in the De Witt drawing, but he has interpreted the latter as short flights of steps from the yard into the first gallery. It is true that these openings are barred by hatching identical in the drawing with that used for the rows of benches in the galleries immediately above, but there can be little doubt that the openings are below the galleries and do not lead into them. And surely "ingressus," written under the opening on the left side of the

<sup>5</sup> Godfrey's drawings are most accessible in Harley Granville-Barker and G. B. Harrison, *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (1934), pp. 28-29; Forrest's designs will be found in Braines, p. 106, and Adams' in *The Globe Playhouse* (1942), p. 53.

stage, can have no meaning except the obvious one of entrance to the theater. To suggest any other meaning for it, such as entrance to the gallery, would almost certainly be a straining of the term. Adams maintains with some cogency that the level of the yard was below ground level, and that it sloped downwards from the back towards the stage, just as the pit of the modern theater usually does. Some steps down from the ground level to that of the part of the yard close to the stage would therefore be necessary, and it is presumably these that are shown, very crudely, through the opening beneath the gallery in Van Buchell's copy of De Witt's sketch.<sup>6</sup>

That the principal entrance to the theater was at the foot of one of the gallery staircases is further suggested by the Hollar engraving of the second Globe. The staircase to the southeast is plainly visible, though part of it, including the base, is concealed from view by a neighboring house. Of the staircase to the north little is visible except a gable. This gable, however, seems to have a wider angle, and to project further from the main structure than the other one, suggesting both a broader staircase, and room at its foot for a door (or doors) of some size. The north side of the playhouse, of course, looked towards the Thames, in the direction from which most of the spectators would have come, and along this side ran a street, Maid Lane. The north side was, in fact, the obvious place for the main entrance. Indeed, one may go further and ask if there could have been any reason for placing the main axis of the circular theater at the rather odd angle to the street which the engraving clearly reveals if it were not in order to have the principal entrance at the point of easiest access.

Confirmatory evidence for these suggestions may perhaps be found in the later history of English theatrical structures, which, for present purposes, can most conveniently be studied in Mr. Richard Southern's delightful little volume *The Georgian Playhouse* (London, 1948). From the era of the Restoration until the beginning of the nineteenth century the sole entrance to the pit was by a door below the first tier of boxes, which gave access to the front of the auditorium and allowed spectators to enter close to the stage. Theaters were no longer built in the open fields as they had been in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and their erection in more congested areas, usually on a rectangular lot, with other buildings adjoining, had considerably altered their external appearance. A street façade, behind which was a vestibule, through which spectators passed to the boxes and galleries, became the accepted pattern. Beyond this was the theater itself, with the stage facing the street. Nevertheless, the pit doors kept their old position, even though it would have been more convenient to enter the pit at the back. Instead, the pit door was reached from the front of the theater by a long, narrow passage which passed under the lowest tier of boxes. The pit door can usually be discerned in engravings of old theater interiors; it is present, for instance, in all the representations of Drury Lane from Wren's drawing of 1674 to an engraving of 1792 (Southern, plates 2, 3, 4), and the pit passage can still be seen in two surviving eighteenth-century theaters, the Theatre Royal at Bristol and the theater at Richmond, Yorks.

<sup>6</sup>It is quite likely that Van Buchell copied this part of De Witt's sketch mechanically, and without understanding what it was intended to represent.


It looks, then, as if the position of the pit door was traditional, an inheritance from pre-Restoration times, and the very inconvenient pit passage which led to it was a development made necessary when the theaters moved to more restricted sites closer to the centers of population.

What is likely to have been the actual appearance of the entrance to an Elizabethan theater is suggested by two more of Mr. Southern's plates. Nos. 35 and 36 show the entry to the theater at Richmond, Yorks., where a door opens, not into a vestibule, but almost directly upon a narrow flight of stairs, at the foot of which is the pay box. Common sense, indeed, would dictate that an audience, especially one so unruly as the Elizabethan, should have been compelled to enter through a narrow passage so that no one could get through without paying for his admission. It is possible, in the light of the hints given by Hollar's engraving, that at the second Globe spectators entering from Maid Lane had the choice of two entrance doors standing side by side, the one opening into a passage which led straight through into the yard and the other leading to the foot of the stairs which gave access to the galleries, while spectators who came across the fields to a door at the foot of the northeastern staircase found but a single entrance which gave access to both yard and stairway. But in any case, I believe, the Elizabethan playgoer entered the theater from the outside through a doorway; immediately inside was the pay box, where he paid his penny; having done this, he could turn sharply to one side and mount a staircase that led to the more expensive accomodation of the galleries, or pass straight on to descend three or four steps and enter one side of the yard in close proximity to the stage.

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## Further Light on the Relation of 1 and 2 *Henry IV*

H. EDWARD CAIN

HE publication in recent years of important editions of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* plays and a number of significant studies of Shakespeare's Histories<sup>1</sup> devoted wholly or partly to these plays has served, among other things, to focus interest upon whether the dramatist composed 1 *Henry IV* without any intention of composing its sequel, 2 *Henry IV*, or composed the two parts as one, that is to say, conceived them as a whole, at least in their broader outlines, and wrote *The First Part* and shaped its detail with *The Second Part* in mind. The answer to this question appears to be one of considerable moment. For no very sound conclusions can be reached about the dramatic values of either play taken separately or of both taken together until the author's main purposes and procedures in composing them have been reasonably well established. Indeed it would seem that any such elaborate interpretation of the structure and meaning of the two plays as Professor Wilson has offered us in *The Fortunes of Falstaff* can only be valid if his initial assumptions about the way in which Shakespeare went about the composition of the two plays are correct. Wilson leaves no room to doubt that he believes the assumptions underlying his larger critical structure are correct. In explaining the importance of editorial experience as a preparative to truly perceptive dramatic criticism, Wilson points out certain types of critics who have fallen into error for lack of such experience with the plays in question. Of one of these he remarks:

Scarcely less absurd are those, and they are in the majority, who, whatever their professions, in practice treat the two Parts as two separate plays. First things first, of course: Shakespeare must have finished Part I before Part II. It is probable also, since he was an actor-dramatist writing for a successful company, always eager for copy, that Part I was put on the stage directly it was ready and enjoyed a run before the "book" for Part II could be completed and rehearsed. Part I possesses, indeed, a kind

<sup>1</sup> Chief among these are: J. Dover Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (New York, 1944); J. Dover Wilson, ed., *The First Part of the History of Henry IV* (Cambridge, 1946); J. Dover Wilson, ed., *The Second Part of the History of Henry IV* (Cambridge, 1946); E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1946); M. A. Shaaber, "The Unity of Henry IV," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. James G. McManaway et al. (Washington, D. C., 1948) pp. 217-227; S. B. Hemingway, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: Henry IV, Part I* (Philadelphia, 1936); M. A. Shaaber, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Second Part of Henry the Fourth* (Philadelphia, 1940); Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories* (San Marino, Cal., 1947).

of unity, lacking in Part II, which seems to bear this out. But Johnson writes: "These two plays will appear to every reader, who shall peruse them without ambition of critical discoveries, to be so connected that the second is merely a sequel to the first; to be two only because they are too long to be one." And I do not believe that anyone who has edited the two parts *together* can fail to perceive (1) that Shakespeare must have kept his intentions for Part II steadily in mind all the time he was writing Part I, and (2) that Part II, so far from being as one critic has called it "an unpremeditated sequel" to Part I, is a continuation of the same play, which is no less incomplete without it than Part II is itself unintelligible without Part I. In any case, the unity and continuity of the two parts is a cardinal assumption of the following study. As we shall find, it is impossible otherwise to make sense of Falstaff's character, to say nothing of Prince Hal's.<sup>2</sup>

Wilson does not indicate in any detail how the unity which he perceives in *The First Part* and which he finds lacking in *The Second Part* could have resulted from the procedures or aims which the author had in mind. He seems merely to assert that it resulted from composing *The Second Part* after he had composed the first. However that may be, it is precisely this "unity and continuity of the two parts," this "cardinal assumption," which the present paper would question. Wilson's views have been supported and elaborated by Professor Tillyard,<sup>3</sup> and the views of both have already been questioned by Professor Shaaber in a very sound and penetrating paper.<sup>4</sup> It has not been deemed necessary to repeat here or to summarize all their arguments. It will be sufficient, perhaps, to say that in what follows new approaches will be made to the solution of the problem.

This paper will consist of three parts. The first part will deal with the external evidence which has bearing on the relation between the two plays, since this evidence, which is considerable, has been neglected in the present controversy. The second part will consist of a study of the use Shakespeare made of his major source in settling upon certain aspects of the structure and content of the two plays, viz., in the way he treated the materials in Holinshed about Owen Glendower and the Archbishop of York. This seems important because, among other things, both Wilson and Tillyard have argued in support of their theory that the appearance of the Archbishop of York in *The First Part* IV. iv, can be explained only as a preparation for the dramatization of his rebellion in *The Second Part*. Of this Wilson writes:

*1 Henry IV* . . . is . . . only part of a whole, inasmuch as at its close all the strands of the plot are left with loose ends. The rebels, Northumberland and Archbishop Scroop, are still at large after the battle of Shrewsbury; and the Archbishop is introduced and given a scene to himself in IV. iv in order to prepare the audience for the expedition of Prince John in Part 2.<sup>5</sup>

Professor Tillyard follows precisely the same line of reasoning and writes:

In an article on "Structural Unity in the Two Parts of *Henry IV*" R. A. Law maintains that Part Two is a new structure, an unpremeditated addition. I think so decidedly the other way that I shall treat the two parts as a single play (as Dover Wilson

<sup>2</sup> Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 234-237 and 264-304.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson, *The First Part of the History of Henry IV*, p. x.



does in the *Fortunes of Falstaff*). Indeed Shakespeare almost goes out of his way to advertise the continuity by keeping the action patently incomplete at the end of the first part. In IV. iv the Archbishop of York is shown preparing for the rebellious action which is the main political theme of Part Two but which is almost irrelevant to Part One.<sup>6</sup>

It can be made reasonably clear, I think, that this argument is invalid. The third part will deal with consistency in character portrayal in the two plays. Since one of the basic assumptions which Wilson makes is that there is "a unity and continuity of the two parts," it follows that he assumes also a unity and continuity in the development of those major characters which appear in both plays. Indeed this may be said to be likewise a "cardinal assumption" of *The Fortunes of Falstaff* an assumption which may properly be closely examined.

# I

The external evidence which may be brought to bear upon the question of the relation between 1 and 2 *Henry IV* does not seem to have been taken into account in any recent discussions of the problem. That evidence is rather ample and seems capable of being construed significantly. Moreover, at least one piece of this external evidence appears so far to have escaped observation.

On February 25, 1598, *The First Part of Henry IV* was known simply by the title *The History of Henrie the Fourth* or, as we shall see, by some similar designation, that is, without the distinctive form which the publishers of the First Folio gave it to distinguish it from *The Second Part*. When it was entered on that date in the Stationers' Register it was called "The historye of Henry the IIIJth with his battaile of Shrewsburye against Henry Hottspurre of the Northe with the conceived mirthe of Sir John Pfallstoff."<sup>7</sup> It does not seem likely that the owner of the copyright or the officers of the company would have permitted any ambiguity in such an "official claim to copyright."<sup>8</sup> When Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* appeared, a work which was entered in the Stationers' Register September 7, 1598,<sup>9</sup> it contained in its now famous list of Shakespeare's plays one referred to again as *Henry the 4*.<sup>10</sup> The title-page of Q<sub>1</sub> also reads: *The History of Henry the Fourth*. That this was probably also the wording of the title-page of what appears to be the first edition of this play is indicated by the running-title on the leaves of the unique fragment of this edition, which has been designated by Professor Hemingway Q<sub>0</sub> and which is now in the Folger Shakespeare Library.<sup>11</sup> Thus all the available evidence indicates that it was usual to refer to *The First Part* pretty much throughout 1598 as if it were regarded as a play complete in itself; and since Shakespeare himself seems to have so referred to it, we may assume that in composing it he was not thinking of the composition of another play on Henry IV.

<sup>6</sup> Tillyard, p. 264.

<sup>7</sup> Edward Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, III, 105.

<sup>8</sup> Giles E. Dawson, "The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works," *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild*, University of Missouri Studies, XXI (1946), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Arber, III, 125.

<sup>10</sup> Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia*, with an introduction by D. C. Allen (New York, 1938), sig. Oo2.

<sup>11</sup> Hemingway, pp. 344-346.



It does not seem to have been observed, in this connection, that *The First Part* was entered in the Stationers' Register a second time, namely, on June 25, 1603. This time, however, it was called *Henry the. 4 the firste part*.<sup>12</sup> Thus in the official records when the distinction had become necessary, the distinctive title appeared. It is interesting to recall that in 1778 when Malone was attempting to determine the chronological order and the dating of Shakespeare's plays he wrote:

It is observable that the FIRST PART of *K. Henry IV.* was entered at Stationers' hall, in the beginning of the year 1598, by the name of "*A Booke entitled the Historie of Henry the Fourth, &c.*" At that time, it is probable, the author had not conceived the idea of exhibiting Falstaff in a second drama, and therefore that play was not then distinguished by the title of *The First Part*. When the same piece was entered about a year afterwards, on the 9th of Jan. 1598-9, it was entitled, "*A booke called The FIRST Part of the Life and Reign of K. Henry IV. extending to the end of the first year of his reign.*" The poet having now composed two plays on this subject, distinction became necessary. *The SECOND Part of K. Henry IV.*, we may, therefore, conclude with certainty, was written in the interval between these two entries, that is, some time in the year 1598, probably in the latter part of it; for Meres, who in his *Wit's Treasury* (which was not published before September in that year) has enumerated *Henry IV.* among our author's plays, does not speak of it as a *first* part, nor does he mention it as a play in *two* parts.<sup>13</sup>

Malone was, of course, mistaken in thinking that the entry in the Register of January 9, 1599, was of *The First Part* of Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*, for it obviously refers to Sir John Hayward's *The First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henry the fourth: extending to the end of the first yeare of his raigne*.<sup>14</sup> But the entry in the Stationers' Register of June 25, 1603, already mentioned, but overlooked by Malone, seems clearly to validate his argument that a distinction was necessary after the composition of *The Second Part*.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Arber, III, 239.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson-Steevens *Variorum* (second edition, 1778), I, 300. Hemingway (p. 352) quotes extensively from this passage, but without adverting to Malone's error in mistaking Hayward's work for Shakespeare's play; Shaaber, however, (p. 516) explains why his evidence for dating the play "has not held water."

<sup>14</sup> The title of this work as it is given is according to a transcription of the title-page of the unique copy of the first edition (S. T. C. 12995a) generously supplied to me by Mr. C. K. Ogden, the owner of this copy.

<sup>15</sup> Although Malone's contentions were only partially invalidated by the error into which he fell, the argument from external evidence that Shakespeare conceived and wrote *The First Part* before turning to the task of conceiving and composing *The Second Part* has been little used. Occasionally a nineteenth-century editor will employ it. Marshall says: "It is also to be noted that the entry of I Henry IV. on the Stationers' Registers does not call that play Part I, as we might have expected it would if Part II was then in existence. Meres, writing in 1598, mentions 'Henry the 4.' as he does 'Richard the 2.' and 'Richard the 3.' If he had known of two plays with that title he would have probably made the fact manifest." He ignores the evidence of the title-page of Quarto One—Henry Irving and Frank A. Marshall, eds., *The Works of William Shakespeare* (London, 1888), III, 419. See also J. O. Halliwell, *The Works of William Shakespeare* (London, 1853-1865), IX, 249-252; H. P. Stokes, *An Attempt to Determine the Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays* (The Harness Essay, 1877; London, 1878), pp. 57-58; and H. N. Hudson, *The Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1852), V, 145, who says: "Thus far [1613] it is simply called 'The History of Henry the Fourth,' and nothing is said of its being 'The First Part'; but in the folio of 1623 it is entitled 'The First Part of Henry the Fourth, with the Life and Death of Henry Surnamed Hot-spur,'" but he draws no conclusion whatever. I have not attempted to make my treatment of the secondary materials exhaustive on this score, and so there may well be other cases. In the twentieth century, I have not come upon any instance of the use of the external evidence by any major critic or editor.

It is a remarkable fact that there were nine quarto editions of *The First Part*: Q<sub>0</sub>, date unknown; Q<sub>1</sub>, 1598; Q<sub>2</sub>, 1599; Q<sub>3</sub>, 1604; Q<sub>4</sub>, 1608; Q<sub>5</sub>, 1613; Q<sub>6</sub>, 1622; Q<sub>7</sub>, 1632; Q<sub>8</sub>, 1639, all of which agree in lacking the distinctive title *The First Part of*. This appears to lend weight to the arguments of the present paper, since it seems to indicate that this play was *the* play on the reign of Henry IV and needed no complement. It also, of course, demonstrates the overwhelming superiority of *The First Part* in popular appeal, since there was only one quarto of *The Second Part*, namely, the 1600 Quarto. Finally, these facts seem to weigh heavily against the theory that either of the two plays is "incomplete" or "unintelligible" without the other, for it is obvious that few of those readers who purchased all the books comprising the nine editions of *The First Part* could have purchased also a copy of the single edition of *The Second Part*. We can only conclude that the Elizabethan audience, like the vast majority of Elizabethan readers, felt no sense of incompleteness at the end of *The First Part*.

## II

If the structure and content of each of the two plays under discussion are examined in relation to the major source which Shakespeare used, namely, Holinshed, and if the probable causes of particular arrangements of the historical materials in these two plays are established, it will then be possible to reason with considerable certainty about the artistic relationship between *Part One* and *Part Two*. Indeed, it seems to be true that, if one surveys *all* the materials which Holinshed presents in the fourteen years of the reign of King Henry IV, one finds considerable reason to think that Shakespeare approached those materials when he began to compose *The First Part* as if he were about to treat them once and for all and without any thought of reserving a portion of them for subsequent dramatic treatment. Certainly he did not treat all the materials of the chronicle up to 1403 in *The First Part*, and the later portion in *The Second Part*. The importance of this will become clearer if we advert to the fact that to an Englishman, especially an Elizabethan Englishman, looking backward upon the reign of Henry IV the battle of Shrewsbury loomed large, not only as a salient event in the reign of Henry IV, but also as one of the more memorable battles of English history; to some, as to Hal and many of his countrymen, it was a "glorious day"; but to others it was a "sory bataill," a kind of British Gettysburg, where deepseated animosities were planted and "vengeable" injuries were marked with blood, when father was set against son and brother against brother for almost a century to come.<sup>16</sup> It was therefore

<sup>16</sup> To an Elizabethan, as Professor Tillyard has so aptly indicated in his discussion of Halle (pp. 40-50), the period stretching from the reign of Henry IV to that of Henry VIII was a "moral concatenation of great events," and Henry IV "the first author," in the words of Halle, "of this diuision" (see pp. 42-43) which was to be closed only when "Richmond and Elizabeth, / The true succeders of each royal house / By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!" (*Richard III* V, v. 29-31). In such a meaningful period of history, therefore, as the reign of Henry IV we may suppose that any great battle would be important. But if we continue beyond Tillyard with our study of Halle, we find some reason to think that Henry's victory at Shrewsbury was seen as a divine favor which fortunately raised him high in the eyes of his countrymen and confirmed his possession of the crown. "AFTER this glorious victory," writes Halle, "by the Kyng obteigned, he rendered to almightie God his humble and hertie thanks. . . . After this greate battaill, he like a triumphant conqueror returned with greate pompe to London, where he was by the senate and magistrates solemnly receiued, not a little reioysing of his good fortune and fortunate victorye" (Edward Halle, *The Union of the*

*Two Noble and Illustrate Families of Lancastre & Yorke*, printed for Richard Grafton, 1548, S. T. C. 12721, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>-D3. See also William Makepeace Towle, *Henry the Fifth*, New York, 1866, p. 198). That the battle of Shrewsbury was the great event of Henry's reign may be concluded from the fact that so great an Elizabethan as Samuel Daniel considered it the event which confirmed Henry in his right to the crown, which he had so easily wrested from the weak Richard, and which he held only as a doubtful usurper up to that point. Thus he apostrophizes Henry:

And neuer worthy Prince a day did quit  
With greater hazard, and with more renowne,  
Then thou didst, mightie *Henry*, in this fight;  
Which onely made thee owner of thine owne:  
Thou neuer prou'dst the Tenure of thy right  
(How thou didst hold thy easie-gotten Crown)  
Till now; and, now, thou shew'st thy selfe Chiefe Lord,  
By that especial right of kings; the *Sword*.

(*The Complete Works in Verse and Prose*, ed. A. B. Grosart, London, 1885, II, 155)

Viewed in this light, the battle of Shrewsbury becomes indeed the logical point upon which Shakespeare might be expected to focus, and by comparison with which the events at Galtres Forest are anticlimactic indeed.

From yet another point of view, however, the battle of Shrewsbury assumed great historical proportions in the eyes of Englishmen. It became, much as did the American battle of Gettysburg, a kind of symbol of civil strife. In one of the most laconic accounts of the battle to be found, an unknown chronicler, apparently at the end of the fifteenth century, wrote: "This same yere [1403], on Maudelyn even, between Englysshmen and Englysshmen, was the sory bataill of Schrovesbury. . ." (*A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483; Written in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, London, 1827, p. 88). Another fifteenth-century chronicler elaborates this for us: "For hit was one of the wyreste bataylys that evyr came to Inglonde, and unkyndyst, for there was the fadyr a-yenst the sone and the sone a-yenst the fadyr, and brother and cosyn a-yenst eche othyr" (*Chronicle of William Gregory*, ed. William Gairdner, Camden Society Publications, n.s., No. 17, 1876, pp. 103-104. Gregory died in 1466. See p. xlix.). Daniel apparently participated also in this view. Praising the bravery of Prince Hal at Shrewsbury, he remarks:

There is that hand boldned to bloud and warre,  
That must the sword, in wondrous actions, wield;  
Though better, he had leardn with others bloud;  
A lesse expence to vs, to him more good.

(II, 153)

Robert Fabyan states this view for the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, if indeed with a somewhat puzzling phrase: "And in the sommer folowing [1403], sir Thomas Percy Erle of Worcester, and sir Henry Percy sonne and heire vnto the Earle of Northumberlande, gathered a great power, and vpon the day of sainte Praxed the virgin or the .xxi. day of July, met with the King nere vnto Shrowesbury, and ther gaue vnto him a crewell battell. . . .

"In this battaile was many a noble man slaine vpon either partye. And it was the more to be noted vengeable, for ther the father was slaine of the father [sic], and brother of brother, and newewe of newewe" (*The Chronicle of Fabian*, London, 1559, S. T. C. 10664, sig. II5<sup>v</sup>). Shakespeare of course uses this sort of phrasing to characterize the strife throughout the whole sweep of the "diuision." For example, at the close of *Richard III*, he writes:

England hath long been mad and scarr'd herself;  
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood;  
The father rashly slaughtered his own son;  
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire.

(V. v. 22-25)

This, it is interesting to observe, is a retrospective commentary which might or might not include the battle of Shrewsbury. These lines from Carlisle's great speech in *Richard II*, which are prospective in their view, obviously include it:

And if you crown him [Henry Bolingbroke] let me prophesy,  
The blood of English shall manure the ground  
And future ages groan for this foul act;  
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,

only natural that Shakespeare should fashion his dramatization of that battle as if it were the vortex about which all the remaining history of the reign wheeled and eddied, and toward which it was irresistibly drawn. But more than this and perhaps largely on account of it, Shakespeare's use of history in *The First Part*, as contrasted with *The Second Part*, permits us to observe him bringing to bear upon his historical materials the full, free play of his imagination. Of this I hope to make adequate demonstration presently in treating of Shakespeare's use of his source in his portrayal of Owen Glendower and the Archbishop of York. For the moment, however, it is important to stress the truth that the study of the use Shakespeare made of his source in writing *The First Part* shows him eminently free and bold in altering and rearranging his materials in defiance of fact and chronology in order to ensure the main dramatic effect. He altered Hotspur's age to make him a suitable foil to Hal; he made the king, who was, in fact, younger than Hotspur, a pathetic old man; he made the young Prince the rescuer of his father from "the insulting hand of Douglas"; he depicted Hal as the heroic conqueror of the all-praised Hotspur at Shrewsbury; and, reaching up almost to the end of Holinshed's chronicle of Henry IV, he drew the reconciliation between Henry and Prince Hal back from 1412 to a date shortly before the great battle in 1403, a detail which more than any other lends an air of finality to his handling of these materials. For this not only brought the Prince's reformation within the scope of *The First Part*, but it linked it inextricably with "the royal field of Shrewsbury" where the soul of Hal and the soul of the nation were at once to be tried.

On the other hand, if we look at Shakespeare's treatment of his historical materials in *The Second Part*, we find no such dynamic boldness in the treatment as we do in *The First Part*. This I shall not attempt to demonstrate by an exhaustive discussion of the use of sources in *The Second Part*, but by a comparative study of two characters handled in both plays, namely, Glendower and the Archbishop of York, although Glendower actually appears only in *The First Part*.

Of these two, we shall deal first with Glendower, for according to Holinshed Glendower was Henry's most troublesome and persistent enemy, not only up to the battle of Shrewsbury, but throughout his reign, or to be more exact, until the point at which Holinshed puts his death, namely, 1409. He inflicted defeat after defeat upon Henry and seemed never to weary of piling confusion and shame upon him. In a dramatic treatment of the political success of Henry IV there was little a playwright could do but paint the story of Glendower in bright hues, as Shakespeare no doubt sought to do in *The First Part*.

It will be the purpose of the following detailed study of Shakespeare's use of Holinshed, therefore, to show, first, the changes he wrought in what he found in Holinshed about Glendower as he wrote each of the two parts of

---

And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars  
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind confound.

(IV. i. 136-141)

A few lines farther on (l. 145) Carlisle alludes to the crowning of Bolingbroke as the raising of "this house against this house." Shakespeare obviously thought of Shrewsbury, therefore, as the first great battle of the Civil Wars.

*Henry IV* and the purpose of those changes, and, second, to show in detail how Shakespeare drew York into the grand plan to weave into his drama of Shrewsbury something of every major conspirator against the throne of Henry.

Holinshed, who obviously takes a hostile view of Glendower, depicts him as a thorn in the side of Henry throughout the greater part of his reign—from 1400 to 1409. In 1400 and again in 1402 Henry himself led an English army against him, but was forced to turn back without a victory (sigs. Ddd5<sup>r</sup>, 6, and 6<sup>r</sup>).<sup>17</sup> Holinshed recounts other rebellious activities of Glendower before the battle of Shrewsbury, including his attack upon Lord Gray of Ruthen (sig. Ddd6<sup>r</sup>) and Mortimer's subsequent decision to "take part with Owen, against the king of England" and his marriage to Owen's daughter (sig. Eee1). He also recounts the fact that the Percies made a "tripartite indenture" with Glendower and Mortimer to divide the kingdom among them when they had defeated Henry (sig. Eee1). But it is Shakespeare alone who gives us the full-length portrait of Glendower which we get in *1 Henry IV*, the most striking colors of which are brushed on in III. i. That portrait appears to be very significant, because in giving it Shakespeare embroiders freely, and even changes fundamentally, the conception of Glendower the man as Holinshed seems to have seen him, thus indicating that his mind worked upon Holinshed's account of Glendower with the same artistic energy which he brought to bear upon the other materials in *The First Part*.

In order to understand this portrayal better, we must first look at Holinshed, who evidently attempted by all the subtleties of rhetoric at his command to weave into his account of Glendower a pejorative connotation. Although he is well aware that Glendower was a courtly and highly educated gentleman (sigs. Ddd5<sup>r</sup>-6), he seems determined to play down his virtues and to depict him as a shadowy and lurking iniquity, cruel, ruthless, barbarous, full of tricky guile and menacing cunning, the leader of a savage and wanton people. He wasted the lands and possessions of Lord Gray "with fire and sword, cruellie killing his seruants and tenants" (sigs. Ddd5<sup>r</sup>-6), and Holinshed remarks that his final defeat of that nobleman "lifted the Welshmen into high pride and increased maruelouslie their wicked and presumptuous attempts" (sig. Ddd6). He refers to Glendower's tactics as his customary "robbing and spoiling" (sig. Ddd6<sup>r</sup>) and recounts, not once, but twice, the revolting abominations of the Welshwomen and on the second occasion elaborates by presenting only too vividly the gruesome details (sigs. Ddd6<sup>r</sup> and Eee4<sup>r</sup>). When the king in high dudgeon sought to chastise the Welsh and their captain, "rebell Owen Glendower," he hid himself in his "lurking places," and by "art magike" caused such foul weather that the king was forced to return home in confusion (sig. Ddd6<sup>r</sup>). He kept Mortimer "in filthie prison, shakled with irons" (sig. Eee1), so that Mortimer at length, perhaps because of his "cruell captiuitie," married Owen's daughter (sig. Eee1). We get the impression that he and his men perennially "robbed, burned, and destroyed the countries adjoining neere to the places where he hanted, and one while by sleight & guilefull policie, an other while by open force, he took and slue manie Englishmen . . ." (sig. Eee3) and that he was always able to win his wicked gains, if by no other means than by

<sup>17</sup> This and all subsequent references in the text to this source are to Raphael Holinshed, *The Third Volume of Chronicles, comprising the Historie of England* (1587, S. T. C. 13569).



"subtill craft" (sig. Fffr). Lastly Holinshed relates the circumstances of his death in 1409:

The Welsh rebell Owen Glendower made an end of his wretched life in this tenth yeare of king Henrie his reigne, being driuen now in his latter time (as we find recorded) to such miserie, that in manner despairing of all comfort, he fled into desert places and solitarie caues, where being destitute of all releefe and succour, dreading to shew his face to anie creature, and finallie lacking meat to susteine nature, for meere hunger and lacke of food, miserable pined awaie and died (sig. Fff2<sup>r</sup>).

Holinshed's final touch is his most significant. Glendower is robbed of the last shred of honor, and is not even allowed in the solitary circumstances of abject misery to die like a hunted beast, but is depicted as a victim of despair and starvation. There seems to be even the implication that he committed suicide.

Except for the opening reference to Glendower in 1 *Henry IV* I. i. 36-46<sup>18</sup> (where he is obviously following Holinshed very closely) and a detail here and there, Shakespeare seems intent upon giving his own picture. It is true that to Bolingbroke he is "that great magician, damn'd Glendower" (1 *Henry IV* I. iii. 100-107). For the rest of Shakespeare's portrait, we are indebted to the indenture scene (III. i). The opening lines present him, after the manner of Holinshed, as a necromancer whose supernatural powers caused a convulsion in nature when he was born. As Shakespeare contrasts Glendower with Hotspur in this scene, especially while they are discussing the supernatural, the Welshman is understandably proud that "... all the courses of my life do show/ I am not in the roll of common men" (ll. 42-43). But he is even more proud of his learning and scholarship, which he owes to no teacher other than himself (ll. 44-49). In the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance the learned man was often connected with necromancy and the supernatural.<sup>19</sup> Shakespeare so treats this phase of Glendower's character as to stress his knowledge and refinement rather than this savagery and craftiness, as Holinshed does. Moreover, Shakespeare's Glendower is a linguist of some ability, who not only speaks English as well as the native Hotspur (ll. 119-122), but so handles it that he "helped to develop it for elegant literary use."<sup>20</sup> Likewise he is a lover of poetry and apparently also of music (ll. 123-124). Even allowing for the bias in the eye of his son-in-law, Mortimer's description seems to epitomize Shakespeare's conception of him; certainly there is nothing in Holinshed upon which he could have founded it:

In faith, he is a worthy gentleman  
Exceedingly well read, and profited  
In strange concealments, valiant as a lion,  
And wondrous affable, and as bountiful  
As mines of India. Shall I tell you, cousin?  
He holds your temper in a high respect  
And curbs himself even of his natural scope  
When you come 'cross his humour. (ll. 165-172)

<sup>18</sup> This and all subsequent references to Shakespeare's text are to G. L. Kittredge, ed., *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936).

<sup>19</sup> Maximilian Rudwin, "The Devil Compact in Legend and Literature," *The Open Court*, XLIV (June 1930), 325-327.

<sup>20</sup> G. L. Kittredge, *Sixteen Plays of Shakespeare* (New York, 1946), note on III. i. 125.

This conception of Glendower, so altered from that in Holinshed, so much Shakespeare's own artistic conception, so complete, so self-sufficient, suggests a finality which makes the scanty and scattered allusions to him in *The Second Part* superfluous strokes in the portrait. Likewise it adds an instance to those already cited of the characteristic manner in which Shakespeare transmuted materials he used for *The First Part* with the effects of his imagination.

In Shakespeare's treatment of Glendower in *The Second Part* it is significant that, whereas Glendower was indeed one of the most persistently disturbing rebels in Henry's reign, the dramatist seemed unabsorbed by his subject. It remained only for the king to make one feeble journey against Glendower from which he returned "with some discomfort" (2 *Henry IV* I. ii. 117-119). We must even make the assumption that that trip to Wales was indeed against Glendower, for his name is not mentioned in that context. There is another allusion, this time by name, to Glendower (I. iii. 70-73) as an active force in arms against the king and the assertion later in the same scene that the king himself and Prince Hal are to lead the forces against the Welsh (I. 83). We are to suppose from the next scene (II. i. 179-189) that the expedition did set forth, but we are never told what fate it met other than that the king returned from it, as already indicated "with some discomfort." It seems clear that the Prince accompanied his father, for in II. ii. 176-178 he cautions the Page and Bardolph not to reveal to Falstaff that he has returned. The only other reference to Glendower informs us simply that he is dead (III. i. 102-103).

According to Holinshed, however, things were much different *after* the battle of Shrewsbury. The king went immediately thereafter into Yorkshire to deal with Northumberland, but soon determined instead to march into Wales "to chastise the presumptuous dooings of the vnrulie Welshmen. . ." (sig. Eee2<sup>r</sup>). What success Henry had, Holinshed omits to tell, but goes on to relate how in the summer of 1404 "Owen Glendower and his adherents robbed, burned, and destroyed the countries adjoining," slew many Englishmen, and captured a number of castles (sig. Eee3<sup>r</sup>). Apparently Glendower continued his warfare against the crown almost incessantly, for Holinshed relates that there was a battle between the Welsh and the English, the latter apparently led by Prince Hal, on March 15, 1405, "at a place in Wales called Huske"; and another in May of that year in which both sides sustained heavy losses. After his account of this Holinshed details all the obscene particulars of the Welshwomen's treatment of the English dead and refers to his earlier allusion (sig. Ddd6<sup>r</sup>) to their atrocities (sig. Eee4<sup>r</sup>). Again in the same year, at the very moment of the York uprising King Henry was preparing an expedition against Glendower. He postponed it long enough to put an end to the Archbishop's rebellion but from "the north parts, he tooke his iournie directlie into Wales, where he found fortune nothing fauourable vnto him, for all his attempts had euill successe . . ." (Eee5<sup>r</sup>). In the same year, Holinshed relates that the French king sent an army to aid Glendower and that the Welshman brought an army of ten thousand into the field. Henry himself again led his power against them, but at length suffered a cruel defeat (sig. Eee6<sup>r</sup>). In 1406 Northumberland and Bardolph took refuge with Glendower (sig. Eee6<sup>r</sup>). Apparently the king, however, wearied of his efforts to overcome Glendower, sent his son, the Prince of Wales, in the summer of 1407 to Aberystwith to fight him. He seems to have



gained a victory over the Welsh there, but he had no sooner left than Glendower undid all that he had accomplished (sig. Fff1). Holinshed's final reference to Glendower is an account of his death in 1409 (sig. Fff2').

Thus it should be clear that Bolingbroke's long warfare against Glendower had only just begun at Shrewsbury and that Shakespeare had ample materials with which to continue his account in *The Second Part* had he so desired. He chose on the other hand not to add in any substantial way to the account he had already given of the activities of Glendower, adding merely the statement that he died.

It remains to deal with the Archbishop of York. Shakespeare evidently intended to treat of him as he had of Glendower in *The First Part*—once and for all. Wishing to draw him into the rebellion of the Percies, he found it again necessary to alter extensively the facts which Holinshed offered. Holinshed mentions York only once before Shrewsbury, and then in such a context as to indicate he had no active part in the rebellion (sig. Eeer'). In Shakespeare he is one of the confederates of the Percies, a fact which both Wilson and Tillyard appear to overlook in evaluating and explaining 1 *Henry IV* IV. iv. In *The First Part* when the plot is outlined to the audience (I. iii. 259-302), it is clear that Worcester plans to include the Archbishop in the rebellion, and Hotspur approves:

Why, it cannot choose but be a noble plot.  
And then the power of Scotland and of York  
To join with Mortimer, ha? (ll. 279-281)

In the scene in which Shakespeare next presents elements of the history under treatment Hotspur reads a letter (II. iii) in which one "frosty-spirited rogue" attempts to back down. And Hotspur comments, in accord with Holinshed, "Why my Lord of York commends the plot" (II. 23-24), but he goes on to enumerate the confederates and explicitly says, contrary to Holinshed, that the Archbishop agreed to put an army in the field:

Is there not my father, my uncle and myself; Lord Edmund Mortimer, my Lord of York and Owen Glendower? Is there not, besides, the Douglas? Have I not all their letters to meet me in arms by the ninth of the next month, and are they not some of them set forward already? (II. 26-32)

If further evidence be needed, it is to be found in the testimony of the King himself (III. ii), who asks the Prince:

And what say you to this? Percy, Northumberland,  
The Archbishop's Grace of York, Douglas, Mortimer  
Capitulate against us and are up. (II. 118-120)

In the light of these evidences in the text, the scene in which the Archbishop and Sir Michael appear (IV. iv) becomes a necessary and organic part of the play in which it stands, for it explains to the audience, which had been told that the Archbishop was putting an army in the field, why he was to be absent from the field of Shrewsbury, a fact which they would not otherwise be able to understand; and at the same time it serves as a point of dramatic recapitula-

tion. Thus the argument of both Wilson and Tillyard with respect to York's appearance in this scene, which constitutes a major point in support of their theory, appears to be without foundation in fact.<sup>21</sup>

### III

When these two plays are examined in the light of Wilson's contention that *The Second Part* is a continuation of *The First Part* so that neither play is intelligible without the other, we come upon contradictions and confusions in the texts which that critic has not explained or in some cases even adverted to. It can in fact be shown, I believe, that the dramatic assumptions of *The Second Part*, far from according with the views of Wilson, demand that we forget much that has been demonstrated in *The First Part* concerning such major figures as Prince Hal and the King.

Before entering upon such an examination, however, it will be enlightening to refer to certain of the arguments which Wilson has made. One of the greatest obstacles to the view that the two plays are one—*The Second Part* the necessary complement of the *First* and the *First* the necessary preparative for the *Second*—is the difficulty of explaining how it is that *The Second Part* completely ignores Hal's reconciliation with his father in *The First Part* (III. ii) and his fulfillment of his promises to him on the field at Shrewsbury. Although Wilson seems to perceive this difficulty and makes elaborate attempts to rationalize it and to accommodate it within the framework of the large dramatic structure which he believes he sees, it is precisely this which accounts for at least two of the strange conclusions toward which he would draw us. First, it is this which prompts him to give all the glory of the Prince's achievement at Shrewsbury to Falstaff and to pretend that everybody, including the King, and excepting only Morton, the messenger, believes that Falstaff and not Prince Hal slew Hotspur at Shrewsbury. Second, it is this which prompts him to present Hal's reconciliation with his father on the field at Shrewsbury as something incomplete, a breach which remains "partly but not wholly healed by his conduct in battle."<sup>22</sup> Concerning the first, Wilson argues:

The words of the messenger, who gives old Northumberland tidings of the death of his son, show us that the true facts of the fight with Harry Monmouth had been observed by at least one man. But no other witness is quoted and, as we have seen, not even King Henry himself appears to realize what has taken place. The Prince is as good as his word; he gilds Falstaff's lie with the happiest terms at his command; and the Lord Chief Justice's admission: "Your day's service at Shrewsbury hath a little gilded over your night's exploits on Gad's Hill" assures us that the gilding had passed current for true gold. Shakespeare leaves the particulars vague—the more a dramatist defines the less freedom he allows to himself—but makes it certain that, whether wholly or in part, the glory of Hotspur's overthrow belongs, not to Harry Monmouth, but to his "brawn, the hulk Sir John."<sup>23</sup>

This passage seems to be a fair sample of a tendency to posture reluctant facts so as to bring them under an over-all hypothesis agreeable to the critic. One is not at all "assured" by the Justice's phrase, "a little gilded over," that that

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, *The First Part of the History of Henry IV*, p. x, and Tillyard, p. 264.

<sup>22</sup> Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff*, p. 75.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

worthy believes Falstaff and not Hal killed Hotspur. The testimony of the messenger, Morton, is unmistakably clear:

I am sorry I should force you to believe  
That which I would to God I had not seen:  
But these mine eyes saw him in bloody state,  
Rend'ring faint quittance, wearied and outbreath'd  
To Harry Monmouth; whose swift wrath beat down  
The never-daunted Percy to the earth,  
From whence with life he never more sprang up.

(*The Second Part*, I. i. 105-111)

This passage, standing within what is technically the introduction to the drama, is clearly an expository device for joining the two parts serially by reminding the audience at the opening of *The Second Part* of what happened at the close of *The First Part* and a means of linking *The Second Part* to the first chronologically by making *The Second Part* follow, in point of dramatic time, immediately upon *The First Part*. From the viewpoint of dramatic technique and from what we know of the function of such messengers as Morton there seems to be no warrant for assuming, as Wilson does, that all the major characters in this play think the truth to be otherwise than the messenger relates it. Certainly we would expect that the audience would be offered some explicit information on so important a point. But there is none in the text.

There is one further piece of evidence which Wilson seems to have overlooked. It is the reference made by Lady Percy to the famous opposition between the two great figures of *The First Part*:

The Marshall and the Archbishop are strong,  
Had my sweet Harry had but half their numbers,  
Today might I, hanging on Hotspur's neck,  
Have talk'd of Monmouth's grave.

(*The Second Part*, II. iii. 42-44)

It should be observed, however, that neither of these two allusions to Hal's conquest of Hotspur is brought into relation with the development of the Prince's character in *The Second Part*. Concerning the second of the two conclusions mentioned above, it is of capital importance that in *The Second Part* no mention is made by any important character of any previous action on the Prince's part which is anything but reprehensible or wanton. In other words, the dramatic assumption of *The Second Part* is that the audience will or must forget that the Prince's reformation has already taken place in *The First Part*, for it is obviously here presented with another version of the same thing. Only such a hypothesis, as we shall now see in the following examination of the texts, explains the contradictions inherent in them.

If, therefore, one approaches these two texts, not with this hypothesis but with Wilson's in mind, he is confronted with conflicts and confusions. Since one of the "cardinal assumptions" of Wilson's theory is, as already pointed out, that there is a "unity and continuity of the two parts," one may reasonably assume that there is unity and continuity in each of the dramatic characters whose activities are spread out upon the larger pattern of a ten-act structure; moreover,

it would only be natural that the portraiture of character on such a scale should seem a more gradual and detailed process than that within the conventional five-act structure. As Wilson says:

Shakespeare inherited from chroniclers a sudden conversion for Prince Hal of an almost miraculous kind. This he is at pains to make reasonable and human, and he does so by marking it off, as I have said, into various stages, thereby accustoming the audience more and more to the notion of it and giving an impression of gradual development of character, the development of a kind normal in the passage from adolescence to manhood.<sup>24</sup>

But in an examination of the texts themselves, what one finds is not a gradual development spread over ten acts, indicating how by stages "The Prince Grows Up"; what one finds is not one but two distinct, abrupt, and marked changes, one in each play.

In each case the change is sudden and complete and "of an almost miraculous kind," such as Shakespeare found not only in the chronicles but also in his dramatic source, where the Prince enters his father's presence with a dagger in hand, ready to kill him, but is suddenly stricken by his conscience (see below, pp. 36-37). In *The First Part* his reformation occurs in III. ii and in *The Second Part* in IV. v; in each case the final proof is given later, in the one at Shrewsbury and in the other outside Westminster Abbey. Shakespeare himself is both explicit and emphatic on the point, and Wilson can be correct in seeing a gradual change only if Shakespeare altered his conception of the nature of that change between the time he finished *The Second Part* and the time he began to write *Henry V*, in which Canterbury says of the King's reformation:

*Cant.* The courses of his youth promis'd it not.  
The breath no sooner left his father's body  
But that his wildness, mortified in him,  
Seem'd to die too. Yea, at that very moment  
Consideration like an angel came  
And whipp'd the offending Adam out of him,  
Leaving his body as a paradise  
T' envelop and contain celestial spirits.  
Never was such a sudden scholar made;  
Never came reformation in a flood  
With such a heady currance scouring faults;  
Nor never hydra-headed wilfulness  
So soon did lose his seat, and all at once,  
As in this king.

(I. i. 24-37)

In *The First Part* the Prince in a long speech in the crucial reconciliation scene (III. ii) announces his intention to reform and vows solemnly before God to keep his word. This speech is so important to the purpose in hand that I quote it at the risk of wearying the reader:

I will redeem all this on Percy's head  
And, in the closing of some glorious day,  
Be bold to tell you that I am your son,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

When I will wear a garment all of blood,  
 And stain my favours in a bloody mask,  
 Which, wash'd away, shall scour my shame with it.  
 And that shall be the day, whene'er it light,  
 That this same child of honour and renown,  
 This gallant Hotspur, this all-praised knight,  
 And your unthought-of Harry chance to meet.  
 For every honour sitting on his helm,  
 Would they were multitudes, and on my head  
 My shames redoubled! For the time will come  
 That I shall make this Northern youth exchange  
 His glorious deeds for my indignities.  
 Percy is but my factor, good my lord,  
 To engross up glorious deeds on my behalf;  
 And I will call him to so strict account  
 That he shall render every glory up,  
 Yea, even the slightest worship of his time.  
 Or I will tear this reckoning from his heart.  
 This in the name of God I promise here;  
 The which if he be pleas'd I shall perform,  
 I do beseech your Majesty may salve  
 The long-grown wounds of my intemperance.  
 If not, the end of life cancels all bands,  
 And I will die a hundred thousand deaths  
 Ere break the smallest parcel of this vow.

(ll.132-159)

To this the King replies:

A hundred thousand rebels die in this!  
 Thou shalt have charge and sovereign trust herein.

(ll.160-161)

That "glorious day" when the Prince says his blood will "scour my shame with it" can only be the day at Shrewsbury, to which the audience from that point looks forward. In V. iv, after the Prince has fought valiantly and has rescued his father from the assault of Douglas, but *before* he has encountered and killed Hotspur later in the same scene, the King says:

Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion  
 And show'd thou mak'st some tender of my life  
 In this fair rescue thou hast brought to me.

(ll.47-50)

This seems sufficient textual evidence upon which to conclude that the Prince kept his vow and that the King regarded his valiant conduct up to that point as sufficient proof. Hence, even granting for the sake of argument that the King never learned of his son's conquest of Hotspur, his reconciliation with him would have remained unaffected.

When we come to *The Second Part*, however, all this is forgotten. One finds it extremely difficult to apply any hypothesis of a continuation in the development of these dramatic characters, since neither the King nor the Prince appears to remember what happened in *The First Part*. The King says to Hal:

Thou hast stol'n that which, after some few hours,  
 Were thine without offence; and at my death  
 Thou hast seal'd up my expectation.  
 Thy life did manifest thou lov'dst me not,  
 And thou wilt have me die assur'd of it.  
 Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,  
 Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart  
 To stab at half an hour of my life.

(*The Second Part IV. v. 102-109*)

And there is no indication in the Prince's allusion to his "wildness" of any previous reformation in his own character either incomplete or complete:

God witness with me, when I here came in,  
 And found no course of breath within your Majesty,  
 How cold it struck my heart! If I do feign,  
 O, let me in my present wildness die,  
 And never live to show th' incredulous world  
 The noble change that I have purposed!

(ll.150-155)

Continuing the same line of reasoning, let us consider the treatment of a theme common to *The Famous Victories* and to Holinshed, namely, that the Prince desired the death of his father so that he might have the crown at once, and that the King feared his son might do him violence. Pertinent passages from *The Famous Victories* will lend us understanding of Shakespeare:

*Ned.* But whither are ye going now?

*Hen. 5.* To the Court; for I heare say my father lies verie sicke.

*Tom.* But I doubt he wil not die.

*Hen. 5.* Yet wil I goe thither; for the breath shal be no sooner out of his mouth but I wil clap the crowne on my head.

*Lockey.* Wil you goe to the Court with that cloake so full of needles?

*Hen. 5.* Cloake, ilat-holes, needles, and all was of mine owne deuising; and therefore I wil weare it.

*Tom.* I pray you, my lord, what may be the meaning thereof?

*Hen. 5.* Why, man, tis a signe that I stand vpon thorns til the crowne be on my head.<sup>25</sup>

When the Prince thus arrayed goes to the Court he enters the royal presence with a dagger in his hand. The King thinks he means to kill him and tells him that his reprobate life will be enough to end his days. Then weeping he says:

I, so, so, my sonne, thou fearest not to approach the presence of thy sick father in that disguised sort. I tel thee, my sonne, that there is neuer a needle in thy cloke but it is a prick to my heart, and neuer an ilat-hole but it is a hole to my soule; and wherefore thou bringest that dagger in thy hande I know not.

Hereupon the Prince is overwhelmed by his conscience, repents, and is reconciled with his father.<sup>26</sup> This theme is treated in both plays under consideration.

<sup>25</sup> J. Q. Adams, ed., *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (New York, 1924), pp. 674-675.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 675-676.



In *The First Part* it is treated with great brevity but nonetheless recognizably. In V. iv when the Prince, seeing his father in danger, rescues him from Douglas, the King cries:

Stay and breathe a while,  
Thou hast redeem'd thy lost opinion,  
And show'd thou mak'st some tender of my life,  
In this fair rescue thou hast brought to me.  
(ll.47-50)

Whereupon the Prince replies:

O God! they did me too much injury  
That ever said I heark'ned for your death.  
If it were so, I might have let alone  
The insulting hand of Douglas over you,  
Which would have been as speedy in your end  
As all the poisonous potions in the world,  
And sav'd the treacherous labour of your son.  
(ll.51-57)

This use of the theme demonstrates something beyond the fact that it seemed to Shakespeare an indispensable part of the legend of Prince Hal and therefore an indispensable element in a play which as Shakespeare originally conceived it was to constitute a complete and final dramatic treatment of the materials of the reign of Henry IV. It demonstrates also that the King is convinced that Hal's reformation is an actual fact and that this reformation goes beyond what Wilson views as the development of his military virtues, his resolution of his truancy from chivalry, and extends far enough to include the rehabilitation of the bonds of affection between father and son and the confirmation of their mutual trust and love.

In *The Second Part* the theme appears in larger dimensions and may be said to be a major element of the reconciliation scene (V. iv). So pervasive is it that it is difficult to abstract it, and the scene may be said to be based upon it. The fact that it resembles the details of *The Famous Victories* scene much more closely than the treatment in *The First Part* tempts one to think that, far from being a continuation in the development of the idea, it is a new and independent treatment of it based largely on the dramatic source.

One or two excerpts will serve to highlight its most important features:

King. Where is the crown? . . .

. . . . .  
The Prince hath ta'en it hence. Go seek him out.  
Is he so hasty that he doth suppose  
My sleep my death?  
Find him, my lord of Warwick; chide him hither.  
This part of his conjoins with my disease  
And helps to end me. See, sons, what things you are!  
How quickly nature falls into revolt  
When gold becomes her object!  
(ll.58-67)

and again

*Prince.* I never thought to hear you speak again.

*King.* Thy wish was father, Harry, to that thought.

I stay too long by thee, I weary thee.

Dost thou so hunger for mine empty chair

That thou wilt needs invest thee with my honours

Before thy hour be ripe? O foolish youth:

Thou seek'st the greatness that will overwhelm thee.

.....

Thou hast stol'n that which, after some few hours,

Were thine without offence; and at my death

Thou hast seal'd up my expectation.

Thy life did manifest thou lov'dst me not,

And thou wilt have me die assur'd of it.

Thou hid'st a thousand daggers in thy thoughts,

Which thou hast whetted on thy stony heart

To stab at half an hour of my life.

(ll.92-109)

In this case again, as in the one outlined above, all that was accomplished in *The First Part* is forgotten in *The Second Part*. Though the King in *The First Part* is convinced that the Prince has a care for his father's life and has seen his son prove it by risking his own in defence of his father's, the Prince and the King of *The Second Part* are entirely unaware that any such matters need to be remembered. The clock is simply turned back and all is begun again.

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# Another Masque for *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

JOHN H. LONG



SHAKESPEARE wrote two versions of the little masque in V. v. of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. One version appears in the Quarto of 1602, the other in the First Folio. As an example of the masque form, the Folio masque is superior to that of the Quarto. I propose to suggest that the Quarto masque, though an inferior example of the genre, is dramatically more apt than the Folio masque, and that, in its function, it is closer to Shakespeare's dramatic intention when he prepared the play for its first performance. Therefore, I believe the Quarto version might well replace the Folio masque in a modern text.

There are three major functions the masque serves in the play:

1. It resolves the main plot involving the exposure of Falstaff. He attempts to improve his fortunes by a lecherous courtship of two Windsor housewives, Mistress Ford and Mistress Page. These two worthy matrons, having become acquainted with Falstaff's true intention, turn the tables by playing a series of practical jokes on the fat knight. The last, climactic joke takes place in the masque.

2. The masque also resolves the secondary plot concerning Anne Page and her several suitors. Mistress Page, her mother, wishes her to marry Dr. Caius; Page, her father, is equally determined that she shall marry Master Slender; Anne, herself, prefers the attentions of Fenton. Page, in an attempt to outwit his wife, arranges for Slender to steal away Anne during the course of the fairy dance, and to marry her in a nearby chapel. Mistress Page makes the same arrangement in the interest of Dr. Caius. Anne Page agrees to her mother's plan, but she and Fenton secretly determine to use the proposed situation to effect their marriage. During the masque, Caius and Slender make unsuccessful attempts to abduct Anne. Fenton's attempt is successful, and he carries her away to the waiting priest.

3. The masque, if we accept the Quarto version, is also, as it dramatically ought to be, the hilarious climax of the comedy. One element of the humor is provided by the pinching and burning of the terror-stricken Falstaff by the moppets disguised as fairies. Another comic element is provided by the incongruity of Mistress Quickly as the Queen of the Fairies and Sir Hugh Evans, with his broken English, as the fairy "crier." Both of these figures had been previously developed as comic characters.

Now, at the point where the little masque opens, the flow of dramatic action takes either of two courses; on one hand we have the light, genial, satirical, and rather vulgar masque of the Quarto, and, on the other hand, there is the ornate, courtly, somewhat stilted masque of the Folio. Both agree in only one respect; they both draw the action toward the same conclusion. In other respects, such as language and characterization, they are quite different. If we are interested in studying the masque as a genre, that is, a pseudo-dramatic production designed to flatter some person or to celebrate some important event, we find the Folio masque, with its prim address to Windsor Castle, its owner, and the Order of the Garter, an excellent miniature of the form. But if we are interested in the dramatic unity of the entire play (and most of us are), then the Quarto masque seems to be more appropriate.

From the point of view of construction, atmosphere, language, characterization, and text, the Folio version is not well fitted into its context. The rollicking spirit of the farce comedy is considerably dampened by the dignity of the masque at a time when the comedy should reach a climax. The construction of the scene is loose—appropriately so for a masque, but not so for a dramatic scene as important to its context as this one. The florid language is assigned to Mistress Quickly and Sir Hugh, both of whom are unfitted for the lines they speak. Quickly is cast as the Queen of the Fairies and Evans as one of her assistants.

The textual problems arising in the Folio masque are, from the producer's standpoint, more serious. One of them concerns the proper identity of the Queen of the Fairies. Who actually is the Queen? In the dialogue preceding the masque Mistress Page states that Anne shall be the queen, yet, when the masque opens, Quickly takes that part. Another problem appears in the lines assigned to Sir Hugh and Pistol. Quickly addresses Pistol as "Crier Hobgoblin" and gives him instructions to pass on to the other fairies. Her next commands, however, are relayed by Sir Hugh, who apparently assumes Pistol's function for the remainder of the scene. A third problem of text is presented by Sir Hugh's Welsh accent. Throughout the preceding portion of the play he speaks in broken English, but in the masque his accent completely disappears. This loss is important, for in the scene the fairies are masked and, theoretically, Falstaff cannot recognize his tormentors. Yet, at one point he exclaims, "Heavens defend me from that Welsh Fairy, Least he transforme me to a peece of Cheese." Clearly, the only way Falstaff can identify Sir Hugh's nationality is by means of the peculiar quality of his speech.

The fourth, and most serious, textual difficulty appears in the stage directions at the conclusion of the masque. The directions are intended to explain the stage business in which Fenton and Anne outwit Caius and Slender. In the Folio, Page tells Slender that Anne may be distinguished from the other fairies by her white costume. Mistress Page, in the meantime, plans to clothe Anne in green and acquaints Caius with her decision. No mention is made, however, of the method by which Fenton will recognize Anne, although such information is necessary in order that the audience may know that Fenton actually takes away Anne. The stage directions then state that Caius steals away a boy in green; Slender takes off a boy in white; and Fenton steals away Anne Page. Again, no mention is made of the way Anne is recognized.

Almost all of the problems of construction, atmosphere, language, charac-

terization, and text disappear if the Quarto masque is placed in the Folio context. The low, rough, and rowdy nature of this version supplies the climax of farce comedy necessary in the dramatic construction of the play. The atmosphere of the masque is suitable to that of a group of middle-class Elizabethans zestfully performing their version of a courtly amusement. The language and poetry are crude, as might be expected from Quickly and Sir Hugh who, after all, are burlesques of fairies and not bona fide sprites. As comic fairies, what choice would have been better than the unlovely Quickly and the thick-tongued Sir Hugh?

The textual problems can, for the most part, be solved in short order by the use of the Quarto masque. The first one, the identity of the Queen of the Fairies, is clarified by the Quarto. In it, there is no mention made of Anne Page as the Queen. Quickly is assigned that rôle, with Anne appearing only as one of the fairy troupe. Also, the identity of the speaker taking the part of the "Crier Hobgoblin" in the Quarto cannot be questioned; Pistol does not appear in the scene, and Sir Hugh takes all of the Crier's lines. The problem arising from the loss of Sir Hugh's accent is also solved for, in the Quarto, the Welsh flavor of his speech is retained, and his nationality is thus apparent to Falstaff. The Quarto also provides for the identification of Anne Page. In it, Page tells Slender she will wear white, Mistress Page tells Caius that Anne will wear red, but, for the benefit of Fenton, Anne wears a white costume with the addition of ribbons pendant around her head. The head ribbons provide the missing clue.

If the Quarto masque is more suitable to the play from the standpoint of dramatic construction and freedom from textual problems, why has the Folio version been consistently retained by the editors of the play? The answer to this question lies, I think, in the inclusion of the accepted version in the First Folio, in the almost repulsive crudity of the language in the Quarto masque, and in the suspect quality of the pirated and corrupt Quarto edition. I have offered one explanation for the quality of the language. In further defense of the Quarto masque, I suggest that though it is slightly corrupt, it is essentially in the form Shakespeare intended, and that the principal reason it was not used in the Folio edition was that the present masque was the later of the two.

Here is what I believe happened. The play was prepared in haste, probably at the command of Queen Elizabeth. The Queen's request for "Falstaff in love" is clearly a request for a farce comedy. In writing the masque, Shakespeare added to its burlesque quality by imitating several plays performed before or at the time he was working on the comedy. These plays include three of Lyly's, his *Endimion*, *Loves Metamorphosis*, and *Mother Bombe*, and the anonymous comedy, *The Maydes Metamorphosis*. Both *Endimion* and *The Maydes Metamorphosis* contain scenes in which a mortal is pinched by a ring of dancing fairies.<sup>1</sup> In the latter play, the tormented character, Jocus, has a lecherous disposition similar to that of Falstaff. In *Mother Bombe* are three comic characters, a sergeant, a hackneyman, and a scrivener, who closely resemble the sergeant, the broker, and the procter mentioned in the Quarto masque of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.<sup>2</sup> The reference to Falstaff therein as a "metamor-

<sup>1</sup> *Endimion* IV. iii and *The Maydes Metamorphosis* II. ii. Cf. W. J. Lawrence, "Thomas Ravenscroft's Theatrical Association," *MLR*, XIX, 418-423.

<sup>2</sup> See *Mother Bombe* V. iii.

phosed youth," we may reasonably suppose was aimed at the plays I have mentioned.

The possibility of another subject for satire arises when we note that the four plays listed were all performed by children's companies—*The Maydes Metamorphosis* by the Children of Paul's in 1600, *Loves Metamorphosis* revived by the Blackfriar's Children of the Chapel in the same year, *Endimion* possibly revived by the Children of Paul's about the same time<sup>3</sup>, and *Mother Bombie* by the same group around 1594. Perhaps the Quarto masque contains an early comment by Shakespeare on the "little eyases."

In any event, after the performance of the play before Elizabeth and its appearance in the public playhouse, it was pirated and published in 1602. It remained, I believe, in essentially the same form as is found in the Quarto until some time around the year 1604. The play was performed before James at Windsor Castle early in 1604.<sup>4</sup> About six months earlier, in July 1603, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Southhampton, and others had been installed in the Order of the Garter.<sup>5</sup> The masque scene in the play offered an excellent opportunity for flattery of the new monarch, and the recent installation of great noblemen into an organization as glittering as the Order of the Garter provided a suitable event to be celebrated. The original masque was hardly appropriate to the dignity and formality of the occasion; therefore Shakespeare rewrote the masque, retaining only those features necessary to the resolution of the plots. The tribute to Windsor Castle, its owner, and the Order of the Garter was assigned to Anne Page, the only suitable member of the cast, and Anne replaced Quickly as the Queen of the Fairies. Sir Hugh was retained in the masque, but his accent was deleted in the interest of dignity. The scene thus ceased to be an integral part of the play and became an occasional courtly tribute.

When Heminges and Condell prepared the play for the First Folio, according to the guess of Mr. Dover Wilson, they had difficulty in assembling and correlating the actors' parts on which their text was based. In the confusion, although they selected the later version of the masque, they were unable to decide which character should take the lines of the Fairy Queen. The designation of the speaker in the First Folio is abbreviated "Qui," in two instances, and "Qu." in two other instances. Perhaps the editors were not sure whether the abbreviations meant Quickly or Queen. Subsequent editors have assumed the meaning as Quickly, but there is equal probability that the abbreviations refer to Queen.

To conclude, the following points I believe are significant:

1. The Quarto masque is an integral feature of the dramatic unity of the play.
2. The characterization and language of the Quarto version are appropriate to a comic scene.
3. The Quarto version does not present problems in construction, characterization, and language as does the Folio version.

<sup>3</sup> See Lawrence.

<sup>4</sup> E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, I, 435.

<sup>5</sup> See the Introduction to *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in Halliwell's *Supplement to Dodsley's Old Plays*, IV, xvii.



4. The 1602 Quarto is the earliest printed version of the play.
5. The Prince of Wales and others were installed in the Order of the Garter in July 1603.
6. About six months later the play was performed before King James at Windsor Castle.
7. The Folio masque is a tribute to the owner of Windsor Castle and to the Order of the Garter.
8. The Folio version was not printed until 1623.

The purpose of the presentation of the play before James was, perhaps, that for which a masque is designed, namely to celebrate, compliment and flatter. Hence Shakespeare was justified in his revision of the original masque. This version was not written, however, to fulfill a dramatic function in the play as a whole. The Quarto masque, on the other hand, I believe was written as an integral part of the original construction of the play and, therefore, if placed in the Folio context, would make *The Merry Wives of Windsor* a better play.

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## December.



From *The Shepheardes Calender* (1586) by Edmund Spenser. The same woodcut was used in the first (1579) and later editions. The sign of the Zodiac (top center) is Capricornus.

# The Jacobean Theater through the Eyes of Catholic Clerics

I. J. SEMPER



HISTORIANS of the drama are familiar with the controversy regarding the lawfulness of playgoing that was conducted in Paris in 1694 between Father Francis Caffero, a priest of the Theatine order, and Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux. Father Caffero argued that plays are lawful diversions, provided that certain restrictions are observed. To refute him Bossuet wrote his *Maximes et Réflexions sur la Comédie*, in which he takes the rigoristic stand that playgoing is dangerous to morals and should be prohibited. During the early years of the same century a similar controversy between Catholic clerics was waged in Jacobean London, a controversy which has come down to us in a manuscript.<sup>1</sup> In 1941 Dr. Harbage drew attention to this manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

The manuscript consists of three documents: the prohibition, dated March 9, 1617/18, and signed by William Harrison, Archpriest of England, wherein the secular priests under his jurisdiction are forbidden to attend plays acted by common players upon common stages, under penalty of losing the use of their sacerdotal faculties; the protest against the prohibition, dated April 25, 1618, and signed by Thomas Leke, a secular priest of London; and the rejoinder to this protest, undated and unsigned, but evidently the work of John Colleton, assistant to the archpriest, who published the prohibition.

The three principals to the controversy were clerics who had labored for many years in the mission field of England. William Harrison was the third and last archpriest of England. After the death of Cardinal Allen, in 1594, English Catholics were left without an ecclesiastical leader and superior. In 1598 Rome appointed an archpriest over the secular clergy, with a council of twelve assistant priests. In 1615 Father Harrison was created archpriest by Pope Paul V, an office which he held until his death in 1621. "An antient Preist" is the term most often used in the rejoinder to describe Father Thomas Leke. In 1595 he reported the trial of Father Robert Southwell, which he had witnessed on February 20. At the time of the controversy he and a number of other priests were in prison, whence they went to the theaters. This fact furnished Father Colleton with an opportunity to embellish his accusation with

<sup>1</sup> MS. 4787 in the Folger Shakespeare Library: "Prohibition of William Harrison, archpriest, forbidding secular priests to attend the theaters, March 9, 1617, with Thomas Leke's Letter to the archpriest, April 25, 1618, and the Answer to this letter."

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare's Audience* (New York, 1941), pp. 71-72.

alliteration and antithesis, when he asserted that they "goe from prison to play-house, from a place of confessing religion to a place of professing vanitie" (fol. 16<sup>v</sup>). He, also, was an elderly priest, who was ordained at Douai in 1576, and who was captured with Father Edmund Campion on July 17, 1581, but acquitted and transported. At the time of the controversy he served as the archpriest's assistant in the London district. He betrays himself as the author of the answer to Father Leke by showing extreme resentment at the charges directed to himself and by employing the first person in seeking to refute those charges.<sup>3</sup>

At first sight it appears strange that during a time of persecution these secular priests of London could indulge in the luxury of a controversy on stage plays. The truth is that from 1618 to the death of James I in 1625 there was a lull in the persecution. During the greater part of this period plans were going forward for a marriage between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, with the result that the laws were not enforced rigorously against Catholics. The plans for the Spanish marriage also explain the leniency extended to priests in prisons, who were allowed to go abroad in the city during the day. If Father Leke and his companions were confined in a Southwark prison like the Marshalsea, they would be within easy reach of the Globe and the other playhouses on the Bankside.

As a corrective to the view that the Jacobean playhouses were ostracized by Catholics, we have the testimony of Father Leke that Catholics, both laics and clerics, were among the spectators: "We knowe that most of the principal Catholicks about London doe goe to playes . . ." (fol. 5<sup>v</sup>). Father Colleton admits that the London Catholics frequent the theaters, although he refuses to concede that they include the "principal Catholicks." He writes: "Again, the Catholicks that use to playes are the young of both sexes, and neither matron, nor graue, or sage man is there seen" (fol. 44<sup>v</sup>). Nor will he admit that many clerics have been resorting to the playhouses; in fact, he declares that the prohibition, although couched in general terms, was aimed directly at Father Leke and two other priests. However, the outcome of the controversy suggests that the number of clerical playgoers was much larger than three. Moreover, it would seem that some of these clerics had been seeking diversion in the playhouses as far back as the days of Queen Elizabeth; for such is the implication of Father Colleton's statement: ". . . then had our Superior iust cause to set forth the prohibition hee did, nay, hee was bound thereunto in conscience, seeing neither the admonitions of his predecessors, nor his own, could work any amendment . . ." (fol. 47). Father Harrison as archpriest had two predecessors, Father George Blackwell, who was appointed in 1598, and Father George Birkhead, who succeeded him in 1608. Father Harrison, as we have seen, served from 1615 to 1621. In a word, Catholic clerics had been visiting the playhouses since the turn of the century. It is interesting to note that during this period William Shakespeare, the most popular dramatist of the time, was at the height of his achievement. The prohibition was issued less than a year after his death. His name is not mentioned in the controversy, but there can hardly be any question that his plays, and his theater, the Globe, are involved.

The prohibition of the archpriest was directed specifically against "playes,

<sup>3</sup> See folio 59.

acted by common plaiers upon common stages" (fol. 1). Father Colleton clarifies the prohibition by stating that it does not forbid priests to be present at plays given in the Inns of Court, the royal court, the universities, or private houses, "although the said plaies bee perfourmed by common Stageplayers" (fol. 10). Thus the prohibition was aimed at the public playhouses only. The reason for the prohibition, as stated by the archpriest, is that, as a consequence of the conduct of the clerical playgoers, "not a few are scandalised, and more disedified" (fol. 1).

In his protest Father Leke advances a number of reasons why the prohibition should be revoked, but his first and main argument is that St. Thomas Aquinas can be quoted in favor of plays which "haue nothing in them *contra fidem et bonos mores*" (fol. 4). Such plays, he contends, are morally indifferent; and hence clerics who attend them do not violate any precept. As to the accusation that he has given scandal, he denies that those under his spiritual charge have been affected: "... all for ye most part of my ghostly children do knowe that I sometimes goe, and are not scandalised" (fol. 5). In leaning on St. Thomas Aquinas he neither quotes nor proffers a reference; but it is evident that he has in mind the following passage, which deals explicitly with actors and plays:

Play is necessary for the intercourse of human life. Now whatever is useful to human intercourse may have a lawful employment ascribed to it. Wherefore the occupation of play-actors, the object of which is to cheer the heart of man, is not unlawful in itself; nor are they in a state of sin provided that their playing be moderated, namely that they use no unlawful words or deeds in order to amuse, and that they do not introduce play into undue matters and seasons. And although in human affairs they have no other occupation in reference to other men, nevertheless in reference to themselves and to God, they perform other actions both serious and virtuous, such as prayer and the moderation of their own passions and operations, while sometimes they give alms to the poor. Wherefore those who maintain them in moderation do not sin but act justly by rewarding them for their services. On the other hand, if a man spends too much on such persons, or maintains those comedians who practice unlawful mirth, he sins as encouraging them in their sin.<sup>4</sup>

St. Thomas Aquinas thus justifies playgoing in terms of rest and relaxation. Human beings cannot dispense with wholesome recreation. In supplying such recreation to the community professional actors perform a social function; and therefore their occupation is both lawful and useful. It follows that plays should not be prohibited if they do not present "unlawful words or deeds," or, as Father Leke phrases it, if they have nothing in them contrary to faith and morals.

The prohibition of the archpriest and the protest of Father Leke occupy eight folios in the manuscript. The rejoinder of Father Colleton runs to eighty-two folios. It is obvious that Father Colleton had a good ecclesiastical library at his disposal, for he quotes, meticulously documenting as he goes along, from the Fathers of the early Church, from the canons of various councils, and from St. Thomas Aquinas and other theologians. It is probable that he had as a collaborator the learned Father William Harrison, who had studied civil and

<sup>4</sup> *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q. 168, a. 3, ad 3.

canon law in Paris, who was a doctor of divinity, and who as the result of a five years' sojourn in Rome was widely versed in ecclesiastical affairs.

The argument which Father Colleton bases on the Fathers of the early Church, St. John Chrysostom (345?-407) and St. Augustine (354-430), can be discounted as a conventional approach adopted by moralists, both Catholic and Protestant, in their attacks on the theater. St. John Chrysostom banned all forms of scenic representation as vile and degrading. And in *De Civitate Dei* St. Augustine repeatedly recurs to stage plays with horror. The inference is that the popular plays of the later Roman empire were grossly indecent. But if we take these sweeping denunciations of corrupt pagan drama as of universal application, it is impossible to reconcile them with the reasonable and moderate view of St. Thomas Aquinas, who defends playgoing, under certain restrictions, as a lawful diversion. Moreover, what discernible likeness have the plays, say, of Shakespeare to the spectacles of the Roman empire?

Of course, Father Colleton uses the appeal to the Fathers of the Church as a confirmatory argument only. During the course of his rejoinder he seeks to uphold the prohibition by presenting three arguments based upon the actors, the plays, and the playhouses of Jacobean London. We shall take them up in order. As regards the actors, he stresses two facts: their lack of legal status and their commercialization of the art of acting. It is true that Roman law disfranchised the actor,<sup>5</sup> that canon law of the early centuries disqualified him in various ways,<sup>6</sup> and that Elizabethan law placed him under a social stigma;<sup>7</sup> so that Father Colleton could write: "The Canons of holie Church do forbid *histriones*, stage-players, that make Lucre of theyr art of playing, to bee promoted to holie orders; they are also reputed infamous, and not licenced in any Court, to accuse, or bear witnesse; and this, not only by ye canon law, but euen by the lawes of our own countrey as I haue been informed" (fol. 78<sup>r</sup>). This purely legalistic indictment is largely an inheritance from the past, and hence it makes no allowance for the rise of actors in public esteem since the days when as nomadic Bohemians they were classed by the Elizabethan statute of 1572 with "Roges Vacaboundes and Sturdy Beggars." The legal term "infamous" loses all meaning when it is applied to the members of Shakespeare's company, who in 1603 were taken under the direct patronage of James I, and were known as the King's Men. What we know about the leading members of this company does not suggest that they were leading disreputable lives but rather that they were family men, householders, churchgoers, and good citizens. And Shakespeare himself, if we judge by contemporary documents and not by legends and fantastic inferences drawn from the plays and the poems, was an honorable, likeable, and industrious worker in the theater, who amassed wealth, who procured a coat of arms, and who retired with honor to his native town. Besides, this legalistic indictment is nullified by St. Thomas Aquinas, who declares that, since the object of actors is "to cheer the heart of man," a lawful occupation may be assigned to them.

In view of the fact that the *raison d'être* of the prohibition is theological, Father Colleton's solicitude for the art of acting has an amusing aspect. He

<sup>5</sup> St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, Bk. II, Ch. XII.

<sup>6</sup> Herbert Thurston, *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 559.

<sup>7</sup> Statute of 1572 (Act 16 *Elizabeth*, Ch. 5, Sec. 5).



draws a sharp contrast between common players and collegial players. He has nothing but praise for the amateur actors of colleges and universities, "who are commonly youthes of the best parentage" (fol. 78<sup>v</sup>). He continues: "For the actors of collegial playes are not common players, nor do they make the Art of playing their occupation, nor play they for lucre sake; which are the badges of common players, and such only as the Canon forbiddeth preists to hear" (fol. 80). This intellectual disdain for professionals who commercialize the art of acting was characteristic of the university-trained men of the time. However, it was not an attitude that appealed to St. Thomas Aquinas, who maintains that it is lawful to patronize professional actors and to reward them for their services.

In his protest Father Leke distinguishes between two types of plays: those that contravene faith and morals, and those that do not. Holding with St. Thomas Aquinas that the latter are indifferent, and hence lawful for purposes of mental relaxation, he contends that the archpriest has no right to prohibit them. Father Colleton accepts this distinction, and he refers to the passage which we have quoted from the *Summa Theologica* as an authoritative pronouncement on the subject. He insists, however, that the question at issue is not one of theory but of fact: Do the Jacobean playhouses actually produce plays that belong to the type which is designated as lawful by St. Thomas Aquinas? He argues that it will be difficult for Father Leke to prove that the playhouses do produce such plays, inasmuch as there will be found "ordinarely in most of them" passages of an irreligious or sensual appeal. He continues: "And how can it bee thought otherwise? For such playes are made to sport, and delight the audiorie, which consisting most of young gallants, and Protestants (for no true Puritanes will endure to bee present at playes) how unlikely is it, but that there are, and must bee, at least some passages in the playes, which may relish, and tickle the humor of such persons, or else good night to the players" (fol. 13).

If Father Leke had been challenged to name dramatists whose plays had nothing in them contrary to faith and morals, we can be certain that Shakespeare, with his clear-cut distinction between good and evil, his sympathetic portrayal of virtuous characters, and his highly idealized heroines, would have headed the list. And yet even Father Leke would have been obliged to admit that Shakespeare's plays contain passages to which objection may be taken mainly on the score of coarseness. If pressed, he might have argued that after all these are only individual passages, that the offensive matter does not enter into the plotting or the character portrayal, that vulgarity is not sensuality; and hence that the plays should not be banned as *contra fidem et bonos mores*.

Father Colleton stands on firmer ground when he defends the prohibition on the score that the playhouses are "altogether inconuenient, and dishonorable for a Preist to appear in" (fol. 60). He objects to the playhouses as assembly places of worldly and dissolute persons. He writes: "I say stage-playes, and publick play-houses, where (if the common voice bee true) many a fowl sinn is committed, and much dishonest loue beegunn. Nor can it well bee thought otherwise, ye general small feeling of sinn, and the licentiousness of the time considered, together with the brauerie used. For few of either sex come thither, but in their holy-dayes appareil, and so set forth, so trimmed, so adorned, so decked, so perfumed, as if they made the place the market of wantonness, and

by consequence to unfit for a Preist to frequent, or to bee seen in" (fol. 25). Because such people flock to the plays, he labels the theaters as places where "no one of grauitie, no one of calling, and ye fame of aged yeres, no one bearing magistracie, and authoritie dares to bee seen, for fear of losing his estimation thereby, or of hauing his carriages questioned" (fol. 36). His charge that the Jacobean donors donned their holiday apparel when they went to the theaters should not be accepted as proof that they were licentious. As a matter of fact, in every age and in every country playgoing has been looked upon as a gala occasion. It should also be noted that he is careful to qualify the accusation of licentiousness by the statement—"if the common voice bee true." The force of his argument resides in the fact that the playhouses, apart from the actors and the plays, had a bad name; and hence that it was not proper for clerics to be seen in them. Evidently he believed what "the common voice" reported. Whether or not the playhouses deserved their bad name is a question that is beside the point; for it does not affect the validity of his argument.

Father Colleton's rejoinder contains a lengthy theological disquisition on scandal, for which he apologizes in these words: "I haue of purpose stood the longer in proof of this point of scandal, beecause it was ye principal, or rather the only cause of making the prohibition" (fol. 44). During the course of his argumentation he makes a few observations on the Jacobean playhouses. For instance, he bases one argument on their popularity, when he states that a cleric who frequents the theaters is bound to be recognized "among such a multitude as resort to playes" (fol. 28). Spectators who recognize him, knowing the risk that he is running by reason of the laws against him, will deem him "to bee either vain, or indiscrete, or ouerbowld, or unrecollected, or to great a louer of light sports, or of unprestlike carriage, and nothing fit to haue the guiding of other folks sowls, who in no better manner guideth, and comandeth his own irregular affections" (fol. 28).

He also distinguishes between two types of playgoers among lay Catholics: those who were accustomed to inquire in advance concerning the nature of the play which they planned to attend, and those who did not bother to make these inquiries. He argues that the latter, on seeing a priest in the audience, will conclude that all plays are lawful.

And finally, when he deals with the expenses "which ye said preists bee at, both for entring, ascending, and theyr standing in boxes" (fol. 17), he contends that the clerical playgoers will scandalize the laity by thus using their offerings to pay for admission to the theaters. Here it would seem that he lends additional force to his argument by underlining the fact that the clerical playgoers occupied the most comfortable seats in the gallery, for which, according to Dr. Harbage, they would expend a total of threepence, a penny for entering at the outer door, and two pennies for ascending to a seat in the "two-penny room."<sup>8</sup> Today this expenditure would be equivalent to about ninety-three cents.<sup>9</sup>

Father Colleton's rejoinder closes with a surprise for the reader, who cannot fail to be impressed by his mastery of ecclesiastical learning as well as by his rhetorical skill, so much so that Father Leke gradually fades into the back-

<sup>8</sup> *Shakespeare's Audience*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

ground as the leader of a lost cause. At the very end, however, obviously much to his embarrassment, Father Colleton, as assistant to the archpriest, announces that the prohibition has been revoked. The opposition was too strong, which suggests that a considerable number of secular priests were frequenting the theaters. At any rate the archpriest, seeing "the headnesse of the humour" that prevailed, preferred to withdraw the prohibition rather than to be handicapped in the troublous time of a persecution by a dissension among his clerics.

### *Loras College*



Februarie.



From *The Shepheardes Calender* (1586) by Edmund Spenser. The same woodcut was used in the first (1579) and later editions. The sign of the Zodiac (top center) is Pisces.

## Reviews

*The London Theatre in the Eighteen-Thirties.* By CHARLES RICE. Edited by ARTHUR COLBY SPRAGUE and BERTRAM SHUTTLEWORTH. London: Printed for the Society for Theatre Research, 1950. Pp. [vii] + 86, frontispiece and 2 plates.

The stage evokes strange devotion and attracts strange devotees. The author of this "Dramatic Register of the Patent Theatres, &c.," was by day a humble attendant at the British Museum and by night an obscure comic singer in various London taverns. But before assuming either occupation, he apparently had ambitions of becoming a theater critic. His record of his playgoing from 1835-1838 may be obscure, since it remained unpublished, but the critic himself was no humbler than his more prominent fellows in their dogmatic and slashing columns in the *Examiner* and *John Bull*. He was no humbler, in fact, than you or I, or the lady in the seat behind us, for it is axiomatic that in judging the stage, everyman is a Stagirite.

Rice's Diary, begun when he was eighteen and abandoned apparently when his own success as a singer made him an irregular playgoer, came to light in the Harvard Theatre Collection. Of the eight small, painstakingly written volumes, one is missing, though some fragments of it were discovered in the Enthoven Collection. The earliest entries are copies of published reviews, but as soon as he learned the technique, Rice ventured for himself, and the greater portion of the Diary is thus a record of the state of the theater in the last years of the Regency period.

It was quite a theater, quite a period, and in its own way, quite a record. The "Last of the Cocked Hats" still headed the playbills, Charles Kemble, Macready, Forrest, Vandenhoff, and Phelps. Bunn and Osbaldestone were desperately trying to out-produce and out-spectacle each other. (Three or four items on a six-hour bill were not unusual.) The minor theaters with their illegitimate delights were gathering strength for their final contest with the monopoly. Audiences came early, stayed late, and on occasion furnished a good deal of the entertainment. The unexpected substitution of one player for another, the omission of a scene, the failure of a piece of stage mechanism, even a misread line might be taken as an insult to the public and resented with catcalls and fisticuffs. And should the police interfere with what the audience took to be its critical prerogatives, the ensuing row must have reminded the older spectators of the O P riots. Indeed a stage manager was often valued less for his ability to direct the activities behind the curtain than his glibness in flattering a hostile audience into good humor.

The record itself is interesting because it is the kind of thing that almost never is preserved. Rice was a simple fellow whose descriptions of performances are abstract and whose criticism is completely subjective. Confronted with a new play he can only generalize; his observations on Shakespeare can be safely omitted from the *Variorum*. He is not Hazlitt, nor Forster, nor Lewes. He is rather what Percy Hammond called an atom in the audience, and his Diary is the record of a playgoer *moyen sensuel*, without professional, critical, or political commitments to color his reactions. His steel-engraved prose is occasionally deceptive, but beneath it lie the opinions of a man who went to the theater not to eat, not to work, but for love.

A word should be said about the present edition. The cooperative effort

of two scholars and two theater collections, in England and America, it is published as the annual volume of the English Society for Theatre Research, and is available only to members. All participants are to be commended, not least the Society itself, for demonstrating the utility of an independent organization of stage historians and reminding us that it is high time it had an American counterpart.

Princeton University

ALAN S. DOWNER

*The Legend of Romeo and Juliet.* By OLIN H. MOORE. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1950. Pp. x + 167.

It is Professor Moore's purpose in this important book to trace the literary development of the Romeo and Juliet story up to Shakespeare. At various times between 1927 and 1942 Mr. Moore has published valuable articles on particular portions of this large subject. He now climaxes his work on it by giving us a comprehensive treatment of the whole matter in a volume distinguished by great erudition and fine scholarship.

Mr. Moore begins by emphasizing that, though there was a Montecchi family during the twelfth century, the Montecchi (Montagues) and Cappelletti (Capulets) were, throughout the thirteenth century, not families but political factions, the former connected with Verona, the latter with Cremona. These factions were apparently entirely unrelated to each other. The first occasion on which they were mentioned together in literature was in a famous and rather cryptic passage in the sixth canto of the *Purgatorio*, over the interpretation of which the early Dante commentators disagreed. Mr. Moore points out that Benvenuto da Imola was the first commentator to assert that the Montecchi and the Cappelletti were *families*, both resident in Verona: he thought of them as allies, however. Francesco da Buti was the first commentator who mentioned enmity between the Montecchi and Cappelletti.

Mr. Moore goes on to deal with the influence of Boccaccio on the writers who contributed to the Romeo and Juliet legend. This influence was not, he claims, confined to literary style: it also involved plot-motifs. He shows how the growth of the legend was influenced by plot-devices found in the *Filocolo* and in the *Decamerone*: and he shows that the *Filostrato* had little or no influence upon it until Adrien Sevin (1542)—but Sevin was certainly indebted to the *Filostrato*. Mr. Moore declares that Boccaccio is "one of the most important and most neglected sources for the Romeo and Juliet legend."

Having considered Boccaccio, Mr. Moore goes on to discuss the anonymous *novella* of *Ippolito e Leonora*, and then proceeds to consider the thirty-third tale of *Il Novellino* by Masuccio Salernitano, who was deeply indebted to Boccaccio. Mr. Moore states that this tale by Masuccio "represents perhaps the greatest single step in the early development of the Romeo and Juliet plot, and contains most of the essential elements utilized by Shakespeare in his tragedy on that subject." He then gives us a detailed study of Luigi da Porto's *Giulietta e Romeo*, which was based mainly on Masuccio and Ovid, though indebted to various minor sources also. Da Porto "apparently invents the names of Romeo and Giulietta, characters of Marcuccio, Tebaldo and the Count of Lodrone [Paris], and the *fante*, or maid," and Mr. Moore indicates various episodes in the story which we apparently owe to Da Porto in the first instance. Adrien Sevin is then discussed—a writer who gives us the germ of "one of the most dramatic episodes in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*," Romeo's visit to the apothecary. Subsequent chapters are devoted to Clizia (the first poet to deal with Romeo and



Juliet), Bandello, Boaistuau, Groto: and Arthur Brooke is discussed—certainly Shakespeare's main source, though it seems clear, as Mr. Moore ably shows, that in certain respects Shakespeare follows Da Porto's version rather than Brooke's. No English or French translation of Da Porto's story existed in the sixteenth century, so far as is known. Did Shakespeare read Da Porto in the original? Mr. Moore, pointing out that "Shakespeare agrees in at least six or seven instances exclusively with Luigi da Porto," and noting alternate possible explanations of this, regards as "the simplest and most natural explanation, that Shakespeare had access, directly or indirectly, to the original Italian version" of Da Porto. Of course, as he says in a footnote, "it is . . . possible that friends of Shakespeare who knew Italian translated or outlined the Italian originals." Nevertheless, to the question "could Shakespeare have read Da Porto in the original?" we may counter the question "can anyone declare positively that he could not have done so?"

Mr. Moore is vehemently opposed to critics who facily assume lost sources, and he has some very good things to say on this subject. He correctly points out that "in only one instance do we have adequate proof that any of the authors here studied actually had access to a lost document. That author was Arthur Brooke, who witnessed a missing play on the Romeo and Juliet theme"—but apparently Brooke made little or no use of it. Mr. Moore is also opposed to the idea that in studying the progress of the Romeo and Juliet story up to Shakespeare we are concerned with folklore. On the contrary, he claims, we are dealing with an almost purely literary evolution. "The sources of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* . . . appear to be almost purely literary, with probably only remote connection with folklore."

The general reader can enjoy Shakespeare's play without studying the literary evolution of the story through the centuries. This is a book for the specialist. But it is a book which the specialist cannot afford to neglect. Those who study it will have to work their way through a mass of *minutiae*, dealt with in a style which is—perhaps almost of necessity—the reverse of fluid. But they will find the effort rewarding. Various errors of previous scholars are soberly discussed and put right: and, though Professor Moore has given us an excellent contribution, he himself freely admits in his Introduction that there is still much to learn, much work to be done, on the subject.

McGill University

G. I. DUTHIE

*Construction in Shakespeare.* By HEReward T. PRICE. University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology No. 17. The University of Michigan Press, 1951. Pp. 42. \$0.85.

The thesis that Professor Price develops in this article is both timely and welcome, that only by studying structure can we discover the essence of Shakespeare's art. He sets before us not an attempt to describe this art as it appears in a series of plays, much less to draw inferences therefrom as to the underlying nature of the art thus variously revealed; for this, as he himself points out, his time is too short. He confines himself, except for certain illustrative analyses, to defining the importance of the study of Shakespeare's structural art, a study at the present day neglected (or should we say evaded?): to surveying the history of this branch of criticism, revealing on the one hand the misconceptions of the classical critics from Milton to Voltaire, and on the other the profundity and sanity of the late eighteenth-century from Johnson to Coleridge, and, finally, to indicating some of the sources of our own misapprehensions.

From time to time, a clear-sounding phrase declares the author's conviction and holds our attention firmly to the central theme: "Shakespeare's construction is still so new that scholars have not yet become aware of it" (p. 37). We, like Voltaire, he would imply, have not yet "learnt enough of method from Aristotle to think of developing the rules of Shakespearian drama from within the drama itself" (p. 4); we have forgotten what we once learned from Hurd's "unity of design" (p. 7), from Schlegel's "organical form" (p. 8), from Herder, from Goethe, and from Coleridge. "Since Coleridge's day not many critics have been able even to ask the right questions" (p. 9), and a profoundly important, perhaps the most important branch of criticism, has fallen into decay.

These are shrewd knocks, but we deserve them, and our gratitude and respect must go to a critic who so clear-sightedly points to the track along which present-day criticism should travel to recover from the faint-heartedness that shrinks from hard thought or from the worship of alien gods. His structure *is* the essence of Shakespeare's art; it is at once the form and the substance, the cause and the result, the process and the effect. "In construction he was both daring and original" (p. 12) and daring and original must be the critics who, like Hurd and Schlegel and Coleridge, subject their imaginations to the almost overwhelming task of searching that originality, that relating of content and form which constitutes, in the just sense of the term, structural art.

This is sound doctrine and worthy of acceptance. The task of studying Shakespeare's art in its individuality and in its essence, of accepting Shakespeare's mind as "eminently constructive" (p. 16), is one that has over-awed the modest and driven the indolent to industrious evasions. But that complacency or timidity is challenged by such a manifesto as this of Professor Price and it will be hard for us to be at peace much longer with our evasion. Indeed, as he himself admits (p. 41), signs of awakening can already be seen.

The paper, besides thus directing our thought to the core of Shakespeare's art, gives us hints as to how to proceed. Having cleared away the confusion caused by the misuse of the word "plot" in much modern criticism and the exaltation of a limited notion of plot at the expense of other aspects of structure, Professor Price analyzes the structural functions of certain episodes, devices, details of motivation, bringing each to the test of the question, "Let us see what it does in the economy of the play" (p. 15). Much emerges triumphant from this test that modern criticism is not always prepared to admit, and the author then extends his examination to cover, at one extreme individual speeches, at the other a whole play, and, intermediate between these two, certain individual scenes.

Our agreement with the principles and with the outlook revealed in this paper holds, despite those differences on detail or application which occasionally arise. Many of us, for instance, would disagree with Professor Price's choice of the first part of *Henry VI* as an illustration of Shakespeare's structural art, simply because we are either unconvinced that it is Shakespeare's or convinced that it is not. Yet his choice of this play and the detailed analysis that follows (pp. 24-37) serves to remind us that the question is perhaps not closed. He admits that it has "the characteristic weaknesses of a young man's first attempt," but maintains that what we find there is "essential Shakespeare." This claim defines the issue between us, and it challenges our opinion on the very ground on which we had based it. To some of us the structural skill of this play, excellent in its kind, appears un-Shakespearian precisely because of its kind; the structural skill, we should argue, is *not* Shakespearian. But if we wish to maintain this against the author of this article we must do the very thing he

there exhorts us to, we must arrive at a conception of our own upon the nature of Shakespeare's structural art, a conception that bears always in mind that, "Every play that he wrote is unique in that it has its own particular problem of construction and its own solution."

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UNA ELLIS-FERMOR

*Shakespeare's Prose.* By MILTON CRANE. The University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. iii + 219. \$3.00.

The reader who survives the obvious hyperbole of Mr. Crane's opening sentence will be well rewarded. Here, for the first time, he will find a thorough and persuasive attempt to analyze and evaluate Shakespeare's use of prose as a dramatic instrument. By a detailed study of each of the plays, considered chronologically, Mr. Crane is able to demonstrate how Shakespeare, as inheritor of a body of arbitrary prose conventions, "by the middle of his career . . . had woven the various conventional usages into a single prose convention, whose basic principle was to offer dramatic contrast with verse" (p.190). Thus Shakespeare turned gradually from the prose usage of 2 *Henry VI*, where the contrast of prose and verse is used to mark the "difference in social class," to an organic use of prose which arises naturally out of the "subtle distinction of character" (p.116), a condition in which the "function of the various characters in the play . . . determines their use of prose or verse" (p.183). Finally, in parts of *King Lear* Shakespeare achieves a "transcendence of the prose convention," for here the element of contrast which ordinarily underlies the combination of prose and verse is reduced to a new kind of dramatic synthesis (p.167). Specifically, Shakespeare's greatest single contribution to the prose convention lies in his development of the "prose of reduction and denigration, which has its finest and fullest expression in *Hamlet*" (p.156).

The study is clearly planned, even though the plan which achieves this clarity forces Mr. Crane into rather frequent repetitions. After an introductory chapter devoted to a general statement of intention and principles, two long chapters (pp.9-65) discuss the function of prose in the plays of Lyly, Marlowe, Kyd, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Dekker, Middleton, Webster, and Ford. (Greene, Marston, and Chapman, who are referred to here and there, might well I think have been given fuller and more connected treatment.) Mr. Crane then passes to a consideration of Shakespeare's plays, which he divides into two basic groups, comedies and tragedies, giving a detailed discussion of the function of prose in each play (with the exception of *The Comedy of Errors* and *The Merry Wives*, p.99), and trying to relate the use of prose in a particular play with Shakespeare's general development and the work of his contemporaries and successors. The book concludes with a chapter of interpretative summary. Two appendixes are added, one on the "Printing of Prose and Verse in Shakespeare" and one attacking Dover Wilson's theory of "verse fossils," particularly in *As You Like It*.

Such is the plan. In its execution there is, as Dr. Johnson might have said, much to praise. But there is also, in matters of exact detail, a good deal with which a careful reader will be inclined to quarrel. In evolving and applying his general theory of Shakespeare's use of dramatic prose Mr. Crane is nearly always persuasive and sometimes brilliant. And he frequently marks a valuable new emphasis, which, for the present writer at any rate, throws light on the interpretation of a whole play: for example, the treatment of the *Henry IV* plays (pp.

83-95); the comments on Hamlet's prose as an "equivocation between appearance and reality" (p.147); on Iago's prose as a "disguise" but "not Iago's true language" (p.156); on the parallel and ambivalent use of prose in *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* (p.181); on the Duke's four-stress couplet speech at the end of Act III in *Measure for Measure* (p.113); on Brutus' forum speech as showing better than anything else in the play his "amazing insensitivity" (p.144).

When it comes to exact statement, however, Mr. Crane sometimes allows inaccurate generalization or misleading implication to run away with the strictest kind of truth. He tells us, for example, that Matheo in *1 Honest Whore* speaks "only prose under all circumstances" (p.50); or that Thersites, "of course, speaks only prose" (p.115). Neither statement is strictly true. Or again, in the analysis of Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (p.46), he seems to imply that Mardonius and Bessus speak only prose. Actually Mardonius jumps in and out of prose most peculiarly from time to time within the same scene, and Bessus in two scenes, where the character is being handled by Fletcher, speaks verse. Slight misstatements such as these are not perhaps too serious in themselves, but they might so easily have been avoided: the old-fashioned qualifying note even in a new-critical milieu is not a mere scholarly affectation.

Occasionally Mr. Crane's comments suggest a wrong or faulty emphasis. On *Two Gentlemen of Verona* IV.ii, in illustration of one of his principles that prose is used for criticism, he writes: "It is interesting to see that her [Julia's] prose here takes the form of comment on Thurio's song: criticism again, and Shakespeare's young gentlefolk are tireless critics of the arts" (p.72). Here one should observe that (a) only *some* of Julia's prose comments on Thurio's song; and (b) the criticism which Julia voices has nothing to do with the song as art, but is concerned with her supposed personal interest in the singer and with the subject matter of the song as it strikes on her immediate predicament. A second example occurs in the treatment of the trick played on Benedick by Don Pedro and Claudio (*Much Ado* II.iii.): "Their verse and song do not move him; it is only when the speakers revert to prose and make direct attack that the scoffer is convinced" (p.105). Here Mr. Crane's implication would seem to be that only prose could "do the trick" and that the "verse and song" had tried and failed. In fact, neither verse dialogue nor song has any immediate application to the actual business of tricking Benedick.

Another aspect of Mr. Crane's book which I find disturbing is his apparent failure to take account of recent textual scholarship. His remarks on *Dr. Faustus* overlook Kirschbaum's and Greg's (perhaps too recent) work in establishing the authority of the B-text (1616); similarly the work of Kirschbaum and Duthie on *King Lear* is ignored. The failure to recognize the final authority of the Folio text of *Lear* vitiates Mr. Crane's defense of the authenticity of Edgar's rhymed speech at the close of III. vi, as well as his attack on the genuineness of Edgar's mad outburst at IV. i. 56-64. In the last instance, apart from the Folio authority for the first lines of the speech, there is the evidence of "And yet I must" (1.54), omitted from the reported quarto text, which complements the earlier "I cannot daub it further" (1.52), found in both quarto and folio. Mr. Crane, in support of his argument, quotes the earlier line, but fails to notice the evidence of line 54. Again, when Mr. Crane suggests that Shakespeare may well have had the "additions" to *The Spanish Tragedy* in mind in composing Hamlet's "prose of reduction" (p.155), he seems to be following Mr. Levin's recently suggested early dating of the additions as about 1599. But he earlier accepts Ben Jonson's putative authorship (pp.27-28) of these same additions, al-

though Jonson was not apparently concerned with his "additions" much before September 1601 and seems to have completed them only shortly before June 1602. Either date is too late for Shakespeare's *Hamlet* if we accept the traditional dating. Finally, it is strange that Mr. Crane should omit any reference to the manuscript fragment of *The Massacre at Paris*, which, as recent investigations have made reasonably sure, contains the one piece of dramatic prose which we can with comparative safety attribute to Marlowe.

Omission of other pertinent material is rare in Mr. Crane's study. But perhaps, for the sake of completeness, Isabella's verse mad scene (*Spanish Tragedy* IV.ii) and Orlando's verse(-prose?) mad scenes in *Orlando Furioso* should be noticed as exceptions to the general rule of "mad" prose (p.29); and the verse letters in 1 *Henry VI* (IV. i) and *Edmond Ironside* (ll. 1276-1300) as early exceptions to the usual prose convention for letters and proclamations (p.56). I also feel the need for some discussion of the principle (if any) which will help to explain why in *Twelfth Night* Antonio and Sebastian speak prose in all but the last five lines of II.i, but verse in III.iii, a scene, so far as I can see, of a similar character.

It has been no part of my intention to imply a general criticism of Mr. Crane's book. Indeed, in many ways (as I hope my earlier comments have made clear) it is a good book and one which will be widely read and influential. For this reason, however, it is especially important that it should not receive a merely uncritical acceptance. In principle it is sane and sound, and it makes a substantial contribution to our understanding of Shakespeare, but it is not a book to be used without careful reference to the primary texts themselves.

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G. BLAKEMORE EVANS

*William Shakespeare. I. Les Comédies. II. Les Tragédies. III. Les Drame Historiques et les Poèmes Lyriques.* Nouvelle traduction française avec remarques et notes. Par PIERRE MESSIAEN. Paris: Desclée, de Brouwer, 1949. Pp. 1479 + 1557 + 1533.

These three attractive volumes contain translations of all of Shakespeare's plays except *Titus Andronicus*, not considered his by the translator, and of the sonnets and other poems. M. Messiaen wisely uses prose, excellent modern prose. It is about as near the English in meaning as one could ask, though, of course, one misses the effect of words no longer in use and of the phrases that Shakespeare made a part of our speech. Occasionally the French does not quite bring out the significance of an English word. The force of "pregnant hinges," for instance, is not altogether conveyed by "charnières convoiteuses," while some of Shakespeare's puns are simply not translatable. But the defects are of a very minor nature. The work should be welcomed by all who wish to know Shakespeare and who have more French than English.

For his text M. Messiaen turned primarily to the Cambridge edition, but he also utilized the Furness, the Arden, the Warwick, and that of Quiller-Couch and Dover Wilson. Besides the editors of these editions he indicates as his special guides Sir Walter Raleigh, Mme Longworth-Chambrun, Sir E. K. Chambers, Granville-Barker, and G. B. Harrison. He has fortunately paid no attention to Baconians, or to Abel Lefranc, whose identifications are at times taken seriously in France, if not in English-speaking countries. Within each of the three volumes the plays are presented chronologically, a short notice preceding each text.

In each volume are found extensive preliminary remarks dealing with the poet's life, social conditions of his times, his imitation of real persons, his



political and religious ideas, his style, etc. The chief defect in this portion of the work seems to be his insistence upon Shakespeare's contact with the Catholic church. He believes that the dramatist was brought up as a Catholic and that, except for a period of depression when he wrote *Hamlet*, *Lear*, *Othello*, etc., he was largely inspired by a Catholic view of life. He overlooks the facts that Shakespeare often lays his scenes in Catholic countries, that even the most ardent Protestant would not substitute a clergyman of his own persuasion for Friar Laurence, and that most allusions to Catholic customs tell us nothing about Shakespeare's own beliefs. One might, moreover, give more weight to M. Messiaen's arguments if he did not show himself to be a special pleader by his claim (II, 19) that the *Merchant of Venice* is Catholic because it condemns antisemitism—interesting information for the descendants of Jews driven out of Spain by Queen Isabel la Católica—and by his mentioning the execution of Edward Arden as if he were killed for being a Catholic, whereas he was accused of being an accessory in a plot to murder Queen Elizabeth, a detail that M. Messiaen fails to mention. His readers, however, will profit by his translation and need not concern themselves with his theological prejudices.

The progress in accuracy made by French translators of Shakespeare can be shown by comparing Ducis's rendition of lines from the soliloquy with that of M. Messiaen:

Mourons! Que craindre encor quand on a cessé d'être?  
 La mort . . . c'est le sommeil . . . c'est un réveil peut-être.  
 Peut-être . . . ahl c'est ce mot qui glace épouvanté  
 L'homme au bord du cercueil par le doute arrêté.  
 Devant ce vaste abîme il se jette en arrière,  
 Ressaisit l'existence, et s'attache à la terre.  
 Dans nos troubles pressans qui peut nous avertir  
 Des secrets de ce monde où tout va s'engloutir?  
 Sans l'effroi qu'il inspire, et la terreur sacrée  
 Qui défend son passage et siège à son entrée,  
 Combien de malheureux iraient, dans le tombeau,  
 De leurs longues douleurs déposer le fardeau!

(Ducis, *Hamlet* IV. i)

Mourir, dormir; dormir, peut-être rêver; oui, c'est là qu'est l'obstacle. Quels rêves peuvent venir en ce sommeil de la mort, quand nous avons rejeté cette défroque mortelle, violà qui doit nous arrêter; c'est la raison qui fait que l'infortune a si longue vie. Qui consentirait à subir les fouets et les dédains du monde, l'injustice de l'oppresser, l'insulte de l'orgueilleux, les angoisses de l'amour méprisé, les lenteurs de la loi, l'insolence des gens en place, et les rebuts que le mérite patient reçoit d'hommes indignes, quand il pourrait lui-même obtenir son quitus avec un simple poignard?

(Messiaen, *la Tragédie d'Hamlet* III. i)

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H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

*Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition*. By E. C. PETTET, with an introduction by H. S. BENNETT. London and New York: Staples Press, 1949. Pp. 208. 12s. 6d.

This survey of Shakespeare's comedies is prefaced by a chapter on the romance tradition and by sketchy accounts of the comedies of Lyly and Greene. Apparently the author wishes to use the term *romance* rather more strictly than



is common and to show that Shakespeare's plays are illuminated by remembering the background of mediaeval romance. His four chapters on "Shakespeare's 'Romantic' Comedies," "Shakespeare's Detachment from Romance," "The 'Dark' Comedies," and "The 'Romances'" do not, however, offer anything profound or new; in fact he seems somewhat behind current scholarship and criticism. The recent works of Charlton, Palmer, Parrott, Stoll, and O. J. Campbell have brought our understanding of Shakespeare's comic genius to a level from which Mr. Petter's book seems elementary, provincial, and obvious.

The profundity of the author's understanding of romance may be judged from his answer to the question why the Elizabethans were so fond of it: because "apart from the classics, romantic literature was almost the only non-didactic reading matter available, and it was bound, therefore, to exercise a strong and continuous pressure on creative writing" (p. 32). Moreover, the English liked things Italian, and Italian literature was romantic. The quality of his scholarship may be suggested by his footnote documenting this last point. It is a quotation from Charles Whibley (whose name is misspelled) in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, volume IV: "The Italianate Englishman, bitterly reproached by his contemporaries, brought back from Italy, with his fantastic costume and newfangled manners, a love of Italian literature and of romance."

One has difficulty in guessing for just what audience this book was published.

California Institute of Technology

HALLETT SMITH

*In the East My Pleasure Lies, An Esoteric Interpretation of Some Plays of Shakespeare.* By BERYL POGSON. London: Stuart and Richards, 1950. Pp. 120. 9s.

In his conversations with Eckerman, Goethe once remarked that critics of *Faust* made him aware of meanings implicit in his play of which he was not conscious when he wrote it. One wonders, if Shakespeare should revisit the glimpses of the moon and engage in conversations with the editor of the *Quarterly*, whether he would recognize as implicit in his plays the meanings which this esoteric interpretation unfolds. Miss Pogson, a graduate of London University, informs us that her interpretations are derived from the system of Psychology taught by Maurice Nicoll! Her emphasis is not on Shakespeare's characterization, nor on his poetic imagery, but on the psychological significance of his plots. She says: "It has been suggested that the incredible happenings in some of the plots are a proof that it is not in the plots but only in the characterization that nature is mirrored. If it is understood that the plots represent the psychological world in which the characters live, move, and have their being, it becomes apparent that the background of events which frames the hero reflects his inner life" (p. 4). This is not "new criticism" but old wine in new bottles, return to the "Wisdom of the Ancients" for the key to Shakespeare's inner meaning. "Greek Tragedy, deriving from the Mysteries had always two levels of meaning. When the audience at the Eleusinian Festival witnessed the suffering of Prometheus, Oedipus, or Hercules they certainly felt 'pity and fear,' but the initiated knew that physical death implied rebirth. Hercules burning on the pyre was not lamented as dead by them for they knew that he had won immortality." In the best chapters in her book Miss Pogson applies the basic ideas of Greek Tragedy to *King Lear*.

Fundamental to this "esoteric" approach is the conception of the rôle played by Shakespeare's heroines. They are not so much independent characters as

embodiments of phases of the protagonist's consciousness, his "Epipsychidia" in Shelley's Platonic sense. "The Soul in Man, which appears in allegory all through the ages, often takes the form of the ideal woman toward whom he aspires. This is the symbol used by Shakespeare in his plays. This is Goethe's 'Ewig-Weibliche' and Dante's Beatrice." In quoting Charles Williams' description of Dante as the Knower, Beatrice as the Knowing, and God as the Known, Miss Pogson comments: "This parallel is illuminating when applied to the heroes and heroines of Shakespeare. The Woman, the Spiritual Consciousness, is the man's power of knowing, and he is himself the protagonist who has to become the Knower, and the union of both is the only possible means of Spiritual vision." It is a commonplace of Shakespeare criticism that he idealizes his women (for better or for worse) more than his men. But it is sheer esoteric ecstasy to read into Shakespeare inner meanings like the following: "The power of right action springing from intuitive apprehension of the Truth, can only be gained by union with the Spiritual Self" (represented by Shakespeare's women including Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra!). "Where there is no ideal woman as in *Timon*, the hero is not yet a hero—he has not yet begun to awaken, he aspires to no ideal." "Hamlet's sufferings were due to his thrusting out of his life the intuitions represented by Ophelia."

Of the nine plays surveyed (*Dream, Meas., Ham., Oth., Lear, Tim., Cym.*), *Hamlet* is the least and *Lear* the most rewarding. In the discussion of the subplot in *Lear*, and the "meaning" of Gloucester's blindness, there are fresh and true insights. The following passage, though long, is worth quoting:

For the initiated, blindness has a deeply esoteric meaning. It was believed among the Ancients that outer blindness increased inner light. Seers like Tiresias and Homer were blind. Oedipus when he realized the truth about himself that he was his father's murderer and was filled with horror at his own guilt, tore out his eyes, symbolical action accompanied by the words: "Because they should look, in time to come." And now Shakespeare uses the blinding of Gloucester's eyes to represent his blindness in failing to recognize Truth. The Old Man leading him says; "Alack, sir, you cannot see your way" and Gloucester replies: "I have no way, and therefore want no eyes; I stumbled when I saw." At this moment the rejected Edgar meets him in disguise saying "Poor Tom shall lead thee." The Truth, despised, ignored, is represented as the Bedlam beggar. There is an echo here of blind Oedipus led by his daughter, but Gloucester is seeking death through his self-will whereas Oedipus was preparing to leave this world at the command of the gods.

This is penetrating empathetic comment. Not a word about the "Oedipus complex" in *Hamlet*, where Miss Pogson points out the much closer parallel to Orestes. For this relief much thanks.

In the chapter on *Antony and Cleopatra* her interpretation becomes extravagant and erring. Here Plutarch, sympathizing with Horace's "Persicos odi, puer, apparatus," is a better guide to Shakespeare's "values" than Miss Pogson, who would have us believe that Shakespeare meant Cleopatra to stand "for the Ancient Wisdom of Egypt, the Mystery Religion for which a man must leave his country, his wife, his home, his career, his honour, and where the union of the peerless twain is a representation of Transcendental Love, of Divine Union." Antony's lines:

I will to Egypt  
And though I make this marriage for my peace  
I the east my pleasure lies (II.iii. 39-41)

are thus interpreted: "Antony has yielded his Empire to Cleopatra, the Eastern half of himself. The Queen now appears in the habiliments of the Goddess Isis. The natural man has surrendered to the Spiritual Self." Fantastic distortion of Shakespeare's dramatic portrayal of the Rise of Cleopatra and the Fall of Antony, could no farther go. This mystification of Antony's word "Pleasure" tempts one to go to the opposite extreme and quote Kipling's British soldier, "Ship me somewhere east of Suez where the best is like the worst."

Shakespeare, to be sure, has in the last act "verklaert," transfigured Cleopatra from Plutarch's old serpent of the Nile, but for Antony he wins our sympathy at his departure by letting him die "a Roman by a Roman valiantly vanquished," his last utterance a truer revelation of the "noble" remnant of his Roman character than his preceding and contradictory rationalization of his suicide:

Not Caesar's valour hath o'erthrown Antony  
But Antony's hath triumphed on itself.

No one could comment on Shakespeare's "inner meanings" as penetratingly as Miss Pogson often does without revealing new facets of meaning, but when she tells us that Shakespeare's line "In the East my pleasure lies" means that "Antony is himself, his real self, only when he is stirred by Cleopatra," we remember what the plainspoken Gentleman said about Ophelia's aberration:

Her speech is nothing  
Yet the unshaped use of it doth move  
The hearers to collection; they aim at it  
And botch the words up fit to their own thought.

For the non-historic critics Shakespeare is the mirror they hold up to their nature. He not only "finds" them, helps them recognize and report their inmost hidden selves, but gives utterance in imperishable poetry to every reach of thought, every flash of insight, every surge of emotion, in all their variability and shadows of turning that the Human Spirit is capable of in its solitary self-communings, in its contacts with its fellow-men, and in its ultimate response to the challenge of life.

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J. DUNCAN SPAETH

*On Producing Shakespeare.* By RONALD WATKINS. New York: W. W. Norton, 1951. Pp. 335. \$5.00.

For many years Shakespeare lovers, both in the study and in the theater, have been periodically reproached with the sin of Bardolatry, and undoubtedly there have been cases where the too ardent devotee was led into certain extravagances of adulation. It seems to me that we must now beware of a gathering wave of what I might call "Globolatry." To the adherents of this new religion, the building in which most of Shakespeare's plays were first performed was largely responsible for the essential genius of the playwright, and the circumstances of Elizabethan stage performance are indispensable to their proper interpretation on the stage some three hundred and fifty years later.

There is a great deal to be said for the more moderate tenets of this new religion, especially as modern scholarship—notably that of Dr. Cranford Adams—clarifies and expands our knowledge of the Globe itself. But Mr. Watkins is nothing if not immoderate. To him there is one, and only one, "right" way of producing Shakespeare, and that is the Globe's way in its most complete and

uncompromising form. We are all to stop trying to do the plays in any other form and bend our energies to constructing new Globes on every available half-acre. Here, indeed, is the prophet of the Globolators. He freely acknowledges his forerunners in the field, and much of the material of his book is directly derivative from Dr. Adams, Granville-Barker, T. W. Baldwin, and others. But Mr. Watkins not only expands and elaborates this material; he carries it to the farthest and most uncompromising conclusions. As a humble and continuously grateful student of Barker, I am forced to wonder whether that highly creative man of the theater might not have turned a little pale could he have foreseen to what lengths Mr. Watkins would carry him.

In short, I must start with a personal confession of faith as free and frank as Mr. Watkins' own: namely, that I am an avowed anti-Globolator—not by any means indifferent to or unappreciative of the immense assistance which modern researches into Elizabethan stage-craft have rendered to any and all sincere students of the plays, but avowedly hostile to the subservience of the worshippers in the Globe temple and highly critical of many articles of their creed. It is almost as useless to argue with a Globolator as with a Baconian; in each case the detail may be contested, but the mystic faith which lies behind may not be shaken by pragmatic argument. My own position must certainly be expected from one who has spent a large portion of her professional lifetime producing or playing Shakespeare under non-Globe conditions, even though under a far wider variety of stage circumstance than is the lot of most theater Shakespearians. It might also easily be supposed that, to one who deeply respects and has arduously striven to serve the theater arts, Mr. Watkins' attitude is not soothing. He totally negates, so far as Shakespeare is concerned, the scenic designer, musician, electrician, producer (in the modern sense), and actor—of whose art he appears to me to have almost no comprehension. They are all for the outer darkness—all—except, of course, those members of the theatrical professions who worked at the Globe, and who were somehow quite different, both in degree and quality, from all their fellows and successors—"the eclipse and glory of their kind," and of all time.

Studying these obvious weaknesses in my own defences, I am driven to analyse a little further the reasons for my taking a stand against the tide of Globolatry. They come under four heads. The first is a result, and direct expression, of the experience of many years in trying to make Shakespeare close, immediate, and vital to numberless types of audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. I find that I do not believe that the presentation to them of Shakespeare in reconstructed Globes would have a better effect in achieving this end. It would be of very great interest to scholars and students and some sections of the public who were already Shakespeare "convertites"; but in my view it would have the reverse effect on the large majority of audiences who, at any rate in the United States, have to be persuaded that Shakespeare is anything but a dead "classic" without modern urgency or personal appeal. Secondly, as an "audience" myself, I have memories of so many moments of beauty and genuine illumination due to the harmony of a stage picture, the dramatic vividness of a shaft of light, the emotional impact of a piece of musical "interpolation" or, above all, the "irrelevant invention" (to quote Mr. Watkins) of a great actor. All of those things he would deny me, and I will not willingly suffer the deprivation. Thirdly, he has still not convinced me that every detail of his, or rather, Dr. Cranford Adams', Globe is in effect ideally adapted to its purpose, ably as he demonstrates its general flexibility and its many undeniable advantages to the playwright. But it was still in some respects a "transition" theater, and I cannot bring myself

to believe that Shakespeare himself would have wished it frozen forever as a monument of perfection for the presentation of his work. And lastly, Mr. Watkins' ideal of Globe-Shakespeare or no-Shakespeare is of such staggering impracticality as to defeat its own purpose. He is not afraid of carrying his arguments to their bitter logical end, and in this instance the necessary result would have to be the construction of Globe theaters for Shakespeare and his contemporaries only, Greek theaters, presumably, for the great Athenians, a Hôtel de Bourgogne for Molière, a Drury Lane for Sheridan, and so on. It is to be feared that, at least in America, nothing would survive but Hofstra College and the present Broadway musicals.

This statement, though self-evident, is not facetiously intended. Mr. Watkins himself recognises that the practices he advocates cannot become universal, and offers some advice on how to make do with existing circumstances by "improvisation and makeshift" designed to achieve as close an approximation as possible to Globe conditions. He instances the semicircular Speech Room at Harrow School, which has conditions vaguely akin to some aspects of an Elizabethan theater and where he has himself recently presented several productions in Globe style. Now it happens that I was myself connected with productions of *The Tempest* and *Macbeth* at Harrow in the early Thirties. We did not make so conscious an effort, nor had we the facilities, to adapt the building to Globe conditions and probably were thereby the losers. But the fact that the stage and auditorium were only "half-Globular," if I may coin a phrase, merely multiplied the drawbacks of the original while retaining only a few of its advantages. The same must, in my experience, be said for the miniature Globe erected on the grounds of the New York World's Fair in 1939, where I directed four plays. It was too small, for one thing, and failing to conform to the more recent specifications according to Dr. Adams, abounded in obstacles and disabilities. I am not convinced that some of these were not present in the Globe itself; but in any case I mistrust "pseudo-Globes" which may easily force the unwary into needless architectural corners and subordinate the interpretation of the play's spirit to the observance of its materialistic letter. The Globe, whatever its merits and demerits, was a functional integer, and cannot well be considered piecemeal.

I am happy to find myself in cordial agreement with Mr. Watkins, however; on the desirability of intimate contact between the actors and the audience, such as was provided by the platform stage. The playing of Shakespeare demands this, as the author demanded it. It is not impossible that our own timid gestures towards an apron stage might not be more boldly expanded. I played once for Mr. William Poel (one of Mr. Watkins' heroes) on a big platform stage thrown out into the auditorium of London's Holborn Empire. Its chief drawback from the point of view of the modern manager was that it swallowed up most of the orchestra seats! Such intimacy of playing does undoubtedly require a period of indoctrination both for actors and audiences if self-consciousness on both sides is to be avoided. But the numerous "theaters-in-the-round" now springing up all over America testify that this is an obstacle not too hard to overcome. Intimacy, of course, is not the prerogative of the various forms of circular stage. Mr. Watkins himself describes the very immediate contact made by the "clowns" with their audience as "turns in the music-hall style." This would imply an admission that such contact is, in fact, achieved in the music-halls, or, as we should say, "in vaudeville." I have seen Helen Hayes, in Viola's "ring" soliloquy, take the audience of a picture-stage theater into the palm of her hand. I will not admit that the Globe is unique in intimacy, but I will join the advocacy of a platform stage!



There are other matters on which Mr. Watkins and I "shake hands and swear brothers"; many of them, however, I feel to be universal in application and both possible and desirable of attainment in all playing of Shakespeare—indeed sometimes in all playing of any author. I find myself more than a little exasperated when he persistently attaches all virtuous practices to the Globe alone! "The repertory company should be trained as a team," says he. Of course they should, and so should all companies. The Messrs. Shakespeare and Stanislavsky cannot possibly have disturbed the celestial regions with any argument on this score, nor do I think the former would suppose that the Lord Chamberlain's men were the only repertory company ever to have existed. Mr. Watkins' section on "Speech" lays down some most excellent principles on the dramatic and musical use of Shakespeare's verse, applicable to any presentation of the plays and independent of any architecture. His practical illustrations are more open to question. They might well result in some very pedantic and "bumpy" phrasing. It is exceedingly hard, however, to convey suggestions as to how verse should "sound" through the medium of the printed page. Edith Sitwell achieves it frequently in her chapters on Shakespeare in *A Poet's Notebook*, perhaps because she is herself a poet. A young actor would do better to consult her than Mr. Watkins, but the result might well prove not unacceptable to him.

It appears to me, however, that his deliberate negation of all the "inner" side of acting and his total lack of imagination as to how an actor may communicate a meaning without external crutches of elaborate stress and gesture make these sections of his book a dangerous guide to what is probably a common end. He is as pedantic on gesture as on speech. Hotspur, in saying "If he fall in, good night, or sinke or swimme," is to "show with his whole body the tottering balance and desperate plunge." Benvolio is to recreate by imitation Romeo's "calm look, knee humbly bow'd," and all sorts of people must be constantly pointing to the roof of the Globe's theater "Heavens" in order to make their celestial reference clear. I am reminded of a local concert at a summer resort where I stayed as a child, when a highly thought-of amateur "reciter" refused bashfully to render a certain piece because she had "forgotten the gesture for a Doge."

On a similar level is Mr. Watkins' praise of the excellent off-stage resources of the Globe on the supposition that in *Macbeth* "the owl, the fatal bell-man" will be heard to hoot through the medium of a good mimic." It is my hope that, if it was, Burbage and Edmans immediately turned their blood-stained daggers upon whoever had the impertinence to interpose such a distraction between the attuned imaginations of themselves and the audience.

More serious, of course, is his advice—his command—to actors to be concerned only with the "objective view" the "immediate moment"; not to "digress into psychological speculations." "There is no need for producer or actor to work up a personal interpretation of the part." The great women's parts are "a white screen" and if the actress "unconsciously and instinctively paints something of her own upon the screen" she "cannot do other than blur the clear image of the poet." Actors, and especially bad actors, are apt to be vain creatures and the stupider among them may and do distort a part into their own image. Evidence is not wanting that even the Lord Chamberlain's men were occasionally afflicted with players of this type. The actor who is the author's best interpreter is the one who can obliterate himself and become the most selfless of mediums; but he must achieve this by an almost mystic inner process to which all his faculties become subservient—not merely voice and limbs, but intelligence, mind, imagination, heart, bowels; it must happen from inside. I think better of Bur-



bage and Co. than to suppose they limited themselves to making a certain gesture, stressing a certain word and concentrating on the "business of the moment."

It is probably as an actor that I most mistrust certain aspects of the idealized Globe. This is not the place in which to take issue with the details of Mr. Watkins' "plotting" of the various plays in Globe terms. Much of it is, as he himself says, inevitable, given the Adams architecture and the Shakespeare text; much is ingenious and probable; some is violently controversial. The parlor game of playing ring-a-roses with Shakespeare in and out of "Platform L, Platform R, Study Curtains, Chamber and Tarras" is a fascinating one and could occupy many a "winter's tedious night" very happily. Were I to play Portia, however (I couldn't of course, not being a boy), or Lady Macbeth, I would diffidently suggest that to put every one of my intimate scenes up in that wretched "Chamber" was to rob me of all the vaunted intimacy which the theater afforded, and to cramp me on a skied-up little "picture stage" from which the delicate comedy of my "Portia" would be as hard to handle as the electricity of Lady Macbeth's invocation or the terrible urgency of her Sleep-walking. "Take me back," I would say, "to my nice intimate proscenium and let me, for Heaven's sake, walk down to it."

Similarly, if I were almost any actor other than the "king" in any of the innumerable "Throne" scenes, I should object strenuously to having to turn my back on a good half of the theater, and speak "upstage," even for the Globe, whenever I had to address the "monarch" seated on his "State" in the buried alcove of "the Study" up-stage center. Both in theory and to some extent in practice I have always mistrusted the uses of what used to be cozily known as "inner below" and "inner above." In their more imposing guise as "Study" and "Chamber and Tarras" I am still convinced that their positioning involved very grave disadvantages and that the flexibility of scene-change which they afforded was off-set by drawbacks to which Globolators pay far too cursory attention. I do not see why we should strive so hard to re-create these disadvantages. While it is unquestionably true that the modern picture stage presents directors with many problems whose solution is obvious in terms of Shakespeare's own stage ("battle-scenes" of all kinds being probably the most insoluble), I still cannot agree that the merits of the Globe were without flaw, nor that we should hold the building responsible for the genius that flowered inside it. I cannot help thinking such a point of view to be reminiscent, in reverse, of Jane Austen's Mrs. Norris in *Mansfield Park*, who remarked to the would-be spectator of a preliminary rehearsal: "You had better wait till the curtain is hung—there is very little sense in a play without a curtain—and I am much mistaken if you do not find it drawn up into very handsome festoons." The Tarras and the Study and the Platform supplied Shakespeare with some very serviceable instruments indeed, and he used them magnificently. But he is not their servant, nor is the articulation and communication of his genius to be bounded by any such limits.

Moreover—and I return to the first and highest ground of my anti-Globolatory—I most gravely question whether we should render any service to the vast majority of the present-day public by producing Shakespeare only under Globe or near-Globe conditions. To begin with, let us accept the proposition that the features of the Elizabethan stage were much akin to the features of a normal house and house-front of the period and, as such, automatically accepted by Elizabethan audiences and as quickly forgotten. They must have given a general air of "at-home-ness" and familiarity to the proceedings and emphasised a kind of kinship between the characters who performed in front of them and

the audience whose daily lives were enacted against very similar backgrounds. That was of great value to the dramatist of the sixteen hundreds; it would be an equal detriment today. To the average member of a modern audience the Elizabethan house-front would seem "quaint," strange, archaic, different; he would have to realize it, analyze it, and then, if possible, try to forget it. It would not help him to reach through to the kinship between himself and Shakespeare's people; it would seldom stimulate his imagination to place these people in any relevance of place or time. It would be a museum-background, a conscious archaism which would obstruct more than it clarified for the average man. Mr. Watkins says that it is "the Elizabethan vision of Roman, Athenian or early Briton that we want to recapture." Is it? I, for one, would rather recapture and try my utmost to transmit the universal vision and the enduring kinship of the heart.

The corollaries must fit one's view of the main proposition. "No lighting effects," says Mr. Watkins, "no overtures and incidental music," and costume which is either wholly or at least in substructure, Elizabethan. He does not state whether or not the theater must have an open roof, though he probably thinks "the winds of heaven" would make the temper of the audience keener and that Shakespeare would not have remarked that "the rain it raineth every day" if he had not thought such weather good for the groundlings. As one who has played much Shakespeare by daylight—exterior from choice and interior for lack of adequate black-out provisions—I have not found that daylight helps intimacy. If there were one modern stage facility which could be made to serve and literally to "highlight" Shakespeare's dramatic craft without interfering with any part of it, I should have thought the resources of lighting might be that one. But, as I have said, there is no arguing with a Globolator. Nor, while I too deprecate the interference of the composer's music when it becomes obtrusively competitive with Shakespeare's own, will I subscribe to the statement that it is invariably useless and wrong; neither can I accept the further statement that such music as is dictated by the text must be purely Elizabethan and nothing else. My reasons are basically the same; to many a modern ear (though not my own) Elizabethan or pseudo-Elizabethan music can sound like what a famous modern Shakespearian actor once described as "wind and tinkle." I deplore the description, but after all the Williams Byrd and Shakespeare were not always aiming at the same ends.

For me, the reconstructed Globe is a fascinating and highly instructive museum. As a director I should be charmed to have the opportunity to experiment with and in it; I should learn much; as an actor and as an audience the same would be true. But as a constant and unvaried diet, no; as an aid to understanding, yes; as a *sine qua non*, emphatically no. Shakespeare is greater than his Wooden O; he has long burst its confines. I would not banish from his service all the fine minds and talents which, in other theaters have humbly sought to interpret him. I would not put him back in a museum nor make him the servant of his instruments. His interpreters may frequently be wrong and sometimes ignorant and vain as well. They could be equally self-willed and misguided in a Globe theater building and certainly equally controversial in method and manner. No material surroundings can subdue the fine artist or inspire the false one, and certainly no material surroundings can subdue Shakespeare, who will adapt himself to almost any locale provided the heart of the matter is there, the understanding, the essential spirit. "Give me the spirit, Master Shallow," and I will get along without the Globe.

MARGARET WEBSTER

*New York*

## Queries and Notes

### THE AUTHORSHIP OF *A LETTER TO MISS NOSSITER* (London, 1753)

By GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR.

The contributions of the Irish lawyer MacNamara Morgan to the living literature of the 18th century have not been many. Through the influence of Spranger Barry his tragedy *Philoclea*, taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*, was produced at Covent Garden Theatre 22 January 1754. By aid of Barry's acting supported by that of his protegee Miss Nossiter, it carried on for nine nights. On 25 March 1754 Barry included Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing, or Florizel and Perdita*, adapted from Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale*, as the afterpiece on his benefit night. This adaptation had very moderate success at Covent Garden (14 performances only), lasting only until 3 May 1762. The *DNB* with manifest uncertainty ascribes two long forgotten satirical poems to his pen. These four items, until this day, have comprised the complete Morgan canon.

For whatever it may be worth I can now add, with a degree of certainty, a fifth item to Morgan's list, and one which proves to be the most lively of all his literary contributions. On 10 October 1753, the eighteen-year-old beauty Miss Nossiter made her debut on the London stage in the character of Juliet. Abundant contemporary evidence indicates that she immediately became the talk of the town. Even Richard Cross, prompter at the competing Drury Lane Theatre, admitted her performance received and merited "great applause." Few eighteenth-century actresses had a better press than she, for on 30 October appeared a well written analytical and appreciative pamphlet of 56 pages entitled, *A Letter to Miss Nossiter Occasioned by her First Appearance on the Stage*. This anonymous shilling pamphlet praises her natural acting, criticises a supposed rival for trying to intimidate her, comments on her youthful freshness of countenance which requires no paint so that her color visibly comes and goes as the passions of Juliet require it to do, remarks with pleasure that she is never inattentive on stage, feeling what others say as much as what she speaks herself, then gives a speech-by-speech account of her part, describing every gesture, every action, and the modulation of her voice in minute detail. The presentation is vivid. The author points the reader's attention to Otway's contribution to the Garrick version of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was played then at both houses, praises Barry for instructing the young gentlewoman, hopes Garrick will refrain from attacking her in his controlled papers *The Craftsman* and *Gray's Inn Journal* because, as he concludes, "She will one day become such an ornament to the stage, that I shall be proud to own myself the first who publicly displayed her merit. . . . Hers is the greatest real first attempt made by man or woman on the stage within these forty years."

It happens that Richard Cross was watching with care just what went on

at Covent Garden for this and the previous season, including in his manuscript *Diary*<sup>1</sup> (now in the Folger Shakespeare Library) a daily listing of the plays performed there and some annotations on their success. This *Diary* has been out of circulation for a century and a quarter, and those who saw it before it dropped from sight, such as J. P. Kemble, were more interested in Cross's comments on happenings at Drury Lane than they were in the two scant listings of Covent Garden plays. So the note which identifies the author of the *Letter to Miss Nossiter* has apparently remained unnoticed until now.

On 1 November 1753 Cross wrote: "Two days ago a Letter (price 1s) came out to Miss Nossiter, in which Mrs. Cibber is abus'd & t'other greatly extoll'd. The author has also fell foul upon Mr. Murphy, author of *Gray's-Inn Journal*. It is wrote by one Morgan an Irish Gent: High words has [sic] pass'd at the Bedford Coffee House between him and Murphy & 'tis thought a duel will be the consequence."

Two days later Cross noted further action at the Bedford: "The contending [parties] met again on Friday [2 November 1753] at the Bedford, in order to accomodate matters but words arising because Mr Murphy did not acknowledge [knowledge] pardon & cri'd Enough, as Mr Morgan said, some blows past & swords out—but no mischief. Morgan denies the letter."

Garrick did not criticize Miss Nossiter (who lasted only five seasons intermittently and failed to become the ornament predicted by Morgan), but he quietly altered Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* himself, gave it the same name (partially) as Morgan's, *Florizel and Perdita*, and watched it in the 60's drive Morgan's afterpiece from the stage. Murphy, however, despite Morgan's denial, persisted in belief of his authorship of the pamphlet. So in thinly veiled terms he scores him in three subsequent *Gray's-Inn Journals* (Numbers 6, 7, and 16 in the Folio Sheets). He does not mention Morgan by name, but refers to his Irish identity, and takes a final dig at him as late as 12 January 1754 (No. 16) when he, Murphy, praises the new Covent Garden actress Mrs Gregory, who made her debut 10 January 54 as Hermione in *The Distrest Mother*, by saying she required no Letter to be written to her containing scurrilous attacks upon everyone else.

Jesse Foot, first biographer of Murphy, might have made the identification of the author had he not suppressed five pages of Murphy's autobiography dealing with the duel because, as he said, "it has been judg'd too uninteresting to be detailed in this place." Foot refers to a pamphlet as cause of the duel, but does not mention Miss Nossiter. Henry Angelo in his *Table Talk* (1840, p. 181) speaks of Murphy's cut wrist, but puts him in the wrong coffee house, and is altogether vague in retelling a story he had heard from his father.

*The George Washington University*

<sup>1</sup> Cross's *Diary* will be published for the first time *in extenso* in the forthcoming volumes on *The London Stage*.

## Notes and Comments

ROBERT METCALF SMITH 1886-1952

The Shakespeare Association of America has suffered a serious loss in the sudden death on 15 January of Professor Robert Metcalf Smith, the report of which was received while this issue was going through the press. Professor Smith was a Director of the Association, Chairman of the Advisory Board, and a member of the Editorial Board.

### THE COVER AND THE FRONTISPIECE

Upon the cover of this issue is a new, conventionalized sketch of the Shakespeare coat of arms, drawn by Mr. Thoreau MacDonald of Dartmouth College. It is simpler and somewhat bolder than the sketch used on the covers of Volume II, in which the tinctures are indicated by lines and dots in the manner that came into use in the time of the Stuart kings. The covers of the four numbers of Volume I bore the arms in full colors. The kind of sketch which was familiar to Shakespeare is exemplified by the drawing that is reproduced as the frontispiece of this issue. It comes from Folger Shakespeare Library MS. 423.3 and is usually attributed to Ralph Brooke (1553-1625), York Herald.

Those who are interested in the subject will find the arms of Shakespeare gorgeously depicted in color in the frontispiece of C. W. Scott-Giles's *Shakespeare's Heraldry* (1950), the accuracy of which is attested by the signature of Mr. J. D. Heaton-Armstrong, Chester Herald and Registrar of the College of Arms (see *SQ* I, 183-184, 286-292, for discussions of this book by R. M. Smith and H. L. Savage). The earliest description of the Shakespeare arms is found in the preliminary draft made in 1596 by William Dethick, Garter King of Arms, in Vincent MS. 157, Article 23, in the College of Arms, which reads as follows (with modernized spelling and punctuation):

Gold, on a bend sable a spear of the first, the point steeled proper; and for his crest or cognizance a falcon, his wings displayed, argent, standing on a wreath of his colors, supporting a spear gold, steeled as aforesaid, set upon a helmet with mantels and tassels, as hath been accustomed.

The motto is "NON SANZ DROICT." This description is repeated in Dethick's revised draft of 1596 (Vincent MS. 157, Article 24) and in the 1599 draft, prepared by William Dethick and William Camden, Clarendieux King of Arms, of the exemplification of the Shakespeare arms with assignment of the arms of Arden (MS. R 21), both in the College of Arms in London.

The arms on the covers of *SQ* I correspond to this description. And the marginal sketches in the three College of Arms MSS agree in detail, as does the sketch in Folger Library MS. 423.3 (see the frontispiece). "O" stands for



*Or*, the golden color of the shield. The bend, or diagonal band across the shield from dexter chief to sinister base (i.e., from the top of the shield at the right to the bottom at left, as considered from the point of view of him who bears the shield), is marked "S" for *Sable*, or black. The head of the spear is marked "Ar" for *Argent*, or silver, in the second draft of 1596 and in the exemplification of 1599; and the spear itself is, like the shield, *Or*, or golden. The falcon of the crest, which shakes a spear exactly like that on the shield, is "Ar," or silver. The wreath on which the falcon stands consists of a strand of gold, the first metal named, twisted with a strand of sable, the first color. Usually six twists are represented, three of each tincture (see the wreath in the frontispiece), but sometimes, as in the two drafts of 1596 and in the sketches on the covers of *SQ*, there are only five. The first tincture on the right of the bearer of the shield should, in the Shakespeare wreath, be golden; the second, sable.

There are many discussions of the Shakespeare arms besides that of Scott-Giles. See, for example, J. Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (1923), pp. 243-254; E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), II, 18-32; B. R. Lewis, *The Shakespeare Documents* (1940), I, 208-217, 299-306; and S. A. Tannenbaum, *Was Shakespeare a Gentleman?* (1909).

#### SHAKESPEARE AT THE BRATTLE THEATRE

During the past season the Brattle Theatre of Cambridge, Massachusetts, presented 2 *Henry IV* and *Love's Labor's Lost*, two seldom performed plays.

In 2 *Henry IV* the actors and the director, Albert Marre, caught the spirit of the drama, and, through excellent use of the small stage, made one forget the loose structure of the play. From the moment Rumor, attired in motley, delivered the prologue to the downfall of Falstaff, the tempo was excellent, and the juxtaposition of the bawdy tavern scenes and the moving speeches of King Henry created no disharmonious effect. In fact, the two planes of society, and moral outlook, with only Prince Hal moving between, made the rejection of Falstaff and the assumption of regal responsibilities a completely plausible experience.

The acting was outstanding. Jerry Kilty, who played the Fool in last year's *King Lear*, was excellent as Falstaff. His quick wit and endless invention, his pompous diction, his bravado after his rejection—all were highly persuasive. Equally effective was Thayer David as King Henry, for he brought pathos and dignity to the part and was deeply moving in the speech ending, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." And in the tavern episodes Doll Tearsheet and Mistress Quickly, as played by Jan Farrand and Priscilla Morrill, were appropriately earthy and coarse. The scenes in which Shallow and Silence appear were especially delightful. Attired in authentic Elizabethan head-gear, Robert Fletcher was hilarious as the repetitive, garrulous Shallow, and Fred Gwynn as the taciturn Silence was amusing, especially when he broke forth in song. The other members of the large cast contributed effectively to a splendid performance.

For *Love's Labor's Lost* the company disregarded topical satire and transferred the action to Victorian England, to a garden replete with saccharine statuary and a highly decorative arbor. The male actors wore student apparel,



and the entourage of the Princess appeared in riding habits and Victorian frocks. Although such a metamorphosis was novel, the changes were hardly satisfactory. Too frequently laughter was produced by such acts as the cloaking of a nude Cupid, a game of croquet in which Holofernes cheated his opponents, the spectacle of Sir Nathaniel riding a bicycle of that period, and the smoking of cigarets by the Princess and her companions when their guardian was absent. In other words, the play itself was not the thing; the Victorian antics inserted for this performance diverted. One could not help feeling that *Patience* was the play for the occasion.

In addition, the actors lacked the stylization necessary for this comedy. The males were simply clever, if somewhat ridiculous, college students, and the women foolish members of the social register. Sentimentality, particularly in the Barrymoresque depiction of Armado, also marred the total effect. Since this comedy is admittedly difficult to stage for modern audiences, one must remain grateful for this production. In fairness it should be added that the audience appeared to enjoy Shakespeare in Victorian dress.

(Reported by Professor Edwin Haviland Miller of Simmons College.)

#### AMERICAN FESTIVAL THEATRE AND ACADEMY

Under the sponsorship of the Theatre Guild, an American home for Shakespeare is being prepared at Westport, Connecticut. In July, Governor Lodge signed a bill, and it is expected that the \$500,000 Shakespeare project will be completed by the summer of 1952. Lawrence Langner of the Theatre Guild expects a revival of "the lost art of Shakespearean acting." The theater will be fashioned after the Globe of Shakespeare's London, as reproduced in the model of President John Cranford Adams of Hofstra College (see *SQ* II, 3-11). The Theatre and Academy will be a non-profit organization, operating on a repertory basis with a national road company when the season at Westport ends. If the American Festival Theatre and Academy can establish in this country traditions of acting, directing and producing Shakespeare comparable to those of the Old Vic and the Stratford Memorial Theatre in England, American will welcome its proteges and its productions with enthusiasm.

#### EXPERIMENT IN PRONUNCIATION AND GESTURE

Londoners recently heard the first scene of *Hamlet* as it was pronounced by Elizabethan actors, according to the London *Times* of 27 September 1951, when Mr. J. C. Grimson and Mr. Bertram L. Joseph conducted an experiment at the Mermaid Theatre. "The speech an Elizabethan audience would seem to have heard is perfectly intelligible to modern ears but is broader and richer than ours. It draws freely upon sounds which survive only in various country dialects; it has pure vowels where ours are mixed; and it distinguishes the separate vowels of what have long since become diphthongs. Above all, it has an air of agreeable rusticity."

The performers also attempted to simulate Elizabethan gestures, which are described as being more pointed and conventional than ours. About 100 rhetorical gestures were illustrated, "but since these [were] incorporated in a flowing line that seems to arise naturally from the verse they [were] not stilted."

The experiment included an interesting piece of business. "Francisco makes his entrance . . . and, continuing his patrol, looks down over a rostrum at the front of the stage, or over the battlements, and he is trying one of the doors when the rattle of chains bolts him. It comes from the open trap in the inner stage or 'study,' is followed by footsteps slowly climbing, and heralds the appearance of Bernardo. Thus simply and satisfactorily does the platform stage become the 'platform' at Elsinore. Another trap admirably provides for the disappearance of the Ghost behind the cloaks of the watchers."

### SHAKESPEARE IN INDIA

Mr. B. P. Wadia, President of The Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, India, writes of a production of *The Taming of the Shrew* as adapted in the Kannada language by Shri Narasinga Rao, whose pen name is Shri Parvatavani. It is reported to him that Professor A. N. Murthy Rao has been commissioned by the University of Mysore to prepare a monograph on Shakespeare in Kannada, the regional language of the country around Bangalore. There are, he reports, translations of Shakespeare's plays into most of the literary languages of India.

The theatrical event of the season is the nine-month tour of Mr. Eric Eliott's London company, The Shakespeare, Sophocles and Shaw Productions, Ltd., in Pakistan, India, and Ceylon. *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *The Merchant of Venice* are included in the repertory.

In 1950-1951, The Shakespearean Drama Company gave recitals from eleven Shakespearean plays to packed houses in Delhi, Nagpur, Calcutta, Madras, and Poona. The Company's program was drawn up in consultation with The Indian universities so that the recitals would supplement prescribed text books as well as offering the general public all their favorite passages in Shakespeare.

### "THE COURTIER'S, SOLDIER'S, SCHOLAR'S EYE, TONGUE, SWORD"

An Associated Press dispatch from Nunsan, Korea, of 13 November, reports that Shakespeare has become the language of diplomacy. During the Korean truce negotiations, Maj. Gen. Henry I. Hodes said of a Red cease-fire statement: "The only maxim about method relevant to your proposal is the quotation from Shakespeare: 'There's a method in his madness.'" North Korean Maj. Gen. Lee Song Cho protested that Shakespeare would have been surprised at this "ridiculous use" of the quotation and added: "I want to ask you not to apply the quotation from the famous Shakespeare to such a bad design."

The AP notes dutifully that the appropriate line in *Hamlet* is "Though this be madness, yet there is method in't" (II.ii. 211-212).

### CHARLES KYNETT CARPENTER (1867-1951)

The Shakespeare Association of America records with sorrow the death of Life Member Charles K. Carpenter on 6 September at his home, 1435 Lex-

ington Avenue, New York City. Born in Kingston, Ohio, he was a graduate of Wooster University and New York Law School. After several years of newspaper experience, he began the practice of law, numbering the Italian Consulate in New York and the French Embassy among his clients. Mr. Carpenter was a member of the board of governors of the National Arts Club, an associate director of the New York Symphony Society, and a member of the American Committee of the Fontainebleau School of Music. His services as a director and treasurer of the Shakespeare Association are not forgotten.

### LONDON THEATERS

The earliest sketch of the interior of a London playhouse is by Arend van Buchell, who seems to have copied it from the notebook of his friend, Johannes de Witt, a priest of St. Mary's in Uthrecht, who visited London in the summer of 1596. It was first brought to public attention by Karl T. Gaedertz in *Zur Kenntnis der altenglischen Bühne* (1888). The reproduction opposite page 17 is from a photograph graciously loaned by the Cambridge University Press (see *Shakespeare Survey* 1, 1948, Plate III).

The view of the Second Globe Playhouse and the Beorgarden (with names interchanged by the engraver), which appears opposite page 16, is from the London Guildhall copy of Wenceslaus Hollar's *Long View of London* (1647). It is reproduced from a photograph loaned by the Cambridge University Press (see *Shakespeare Survey* 1, 1948, Plate XII).

### THE INDEX OF VOLUME II

Members of the Shakespeare Association of America and all other readers of *Shakespeare Quarterly* are deeply indebted to John Blessing Askling for the analytic, comprehensive index to volume II. Mr. Askling is lecturer on Indexing in the library school of Catholic University of America in Washington, D. C., and has lectured at Columbia University, New York City. He prepared the index to the fourteen-volume French *Encyclopédie de la Jeunesse*, index revisions to the *Encyclopedia Americana*, and the *Grolier Encyclopedia*, as well as the indexes to texts such as Bingham's *Ancestors' Brocades*, Bradley's *Soldier's Story*, Gardner's *Art through the Ages*, and Haines's *Living with Books*. Though his headquarters are in New York, Mr. Askling is living temporarily in Washington while preparing the index to the 3000-page Pace Report for the House Committee on Agriculture. Directors of the Shakespeare Association accepted Mr. Askling's generous offer to serve as Indexer of the *Quarterly*, made because of his interest and affection for Shakespeare and in particular because of his desire to do honor to his friend, George Fullmer Reynolds, professor emeritus of the University of Colorado and to the memory of Mabel Smith Reynolds, his late wife. "Mrs. Reynolds was one of the finest teachers and interpreters of poetry under whom any man could have studied. To her, each class period was an adventure for herself and for her students." Mr. Askling wishes to record his gratitude to Mr. John Bernard Moffett of the Catholic University of America Library School for transferring the Index from cards to typescript, with great saving to the Association in printing charges.

## Shakespeare on the Academic Stage

The first known American performance in almost fifty years of *The Life and Death of King John* was given by the King William Players of St. John's College on 7 and 8 December 1951 at Iglehart Hall. All the parts were played by students, except that of Arthur, which was performed by the wife of one of the students. The costumes and sets were non-realistic, though always suggestive of medieval times; and the lights were white, unmodified by color filters, to lend an almost photographic starkness to what is a stark play. The first known performance of *King John* in America seems to have been at the Southwark Theatre in Philadelphia in 1768. In 1769 it was acted in New York, and in 1782-1783 in Baltimore. The production by the King William Players was the end result of weeks of "running seminars" on Shakespeare's works. The seminar technique was here extended to an activity which, though extra-curricular, became an integral part of the College program. The weeks of reading and discussion had given the cast a certain understanding of the play and the author, and the production was the means of sharing with the rest of the school the understanding the cast had achieved.

## Shakespeare Clubs and Study Groups

In August 1951 a SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY was formed in JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA, by a handful of enthusiasts who had in 1947 started the Shakespeare Circle in Bloemfontein. The leading spirits are Mr. and Mrs. Alan Pollock, supported by Rev. C. C. Tugman, Mr. Philip Birkinshaw and Mrs. Margot Ratcliffe. The Society has a committee of experienced amateur actors, and includes at least two producers, a business manager and a stage designer; consequently its emphasis is on Shakespearean production. It has over a hundred members and meets twice monthly for readings, lectures, music, and discussions. Among its objects is to "introduce the works of William Shakespeare to as many people as possible for their enjoyment and education."

The Bloemfontein "Circle," still flourishing, was addressed by Prof. J. Dover Wilson on his lecture tour of South Africa in 1949, and enjoyed considerable support from a town of 40,000 inhabitants, sixty-five percent Afrikaans-speaking. Its work in the schools was of sufficient importance to justify grants from the Education Department and the Municipality. Productions included *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *Much Ado*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

Johannesburg's population is fifteen times that of Bloemfontein and its cultural tastes are more cosmopolitan and varied. It is hoped there to produce some of the lesser seen of Shakespeare's plays, such as *King Lear*, *Measure for Measure* and *A Winter's Tale*. The Society aims at one major production a year, and has, as its patron, Miss Gwen Frangcon-Davies, of the Stratford Memorial and London Theatres. In October a notable lecture on "Shakespeare's Use of Music" was given by Prof. Percival Kirby of the Witwatersrand University, and preparations are in hand for a presentation of Shaw's *The Dark Lady of the Sonnets*.

One criticism of the Society is needful; it popularizes, rather than refines, the taste for which it caters. A society with the avowed intention of producing "Shakespeare Specialists" should profit from the wisdom and fruits of scholarship, whether of stage or text. Interpreting Shakespeare's artistic purposes is not a task for lay opinion, or the whims of individual fancy. A Shakespeare Society graduates from "amateur theatricals," when it studies to inherit the Shakespeare tradition. No doubt the present Society needs time to achieve that distinction.

(Reported by A. C. Partridge.)

The ATLANTA SHAKESPEARE CLASS was organized in 1896 by Mrs. Henry Hudgins. It has been in continuous existence ever since, meeting twice monthly from September until June. The plays—usually four per year—are read and discussed, and papers are written about them. The membership is limited to twenty and there is one original member left, Mrs. Madeleine Keane of 1050 Ponce de Leon Ave., Atlanta, Georgia. Upon the completion of each play a social meeting is held at the home of one of the members.

The present officers are: President, Mrs. William T. Asher; Vice President, Mrs. Lawton Kirkland; Secretary and Treasurer, Mrs. Stillwell Harrower.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY on 11 September, Mr. Charles Warburton was chosen as President to succeed Mrs. June Justice, who had resigned after taking up permanent residence in Florida. The Vice Presidents are Judge Francis X. Geacone, Mr. Arthur Heine, and Mr. Charles Webster. This is the fourth time Mr. Warburton has been called to the chair of the club. Now a top director of the American Broadcasting Company, he received his early training in the Shakespearean companies of Frank Benson and the Old Vic, playing in 32 of the Bard's plays, and rising from a walk-on part to those of lead and director.

Mrs. Margaret L. Annear of Modesto, California, reports that she is the only surviving charter member of the MODESTO SHAKESPEARE CLUB, which she helped organize in 1916. The membership is limited to 25, who are received by invitation. The year book for 1951-1952 lists programs for eleven meetings, the topic for 6 November being "Gleanings from *Shakespeare Quarterly*." President, Mrs. L. M. Morris; Vice President, Mrs. J. H. Corson; Secretary, Mrs. A. J. Sturtevant; and Treasurer, Mrs. Dorothy Schreiner.

The delightful account of the MANCHESTER (N. H.) SHAKESPEARE CLUB written by Mrs. H. B. Roberts, retiring Secretary, which is unfortunately too long to be printed, is without parallel in its originality. Eight women assembled in 1873 to study Shakespeare and praise his name. They studied as many as six plays in a season, "but that was in the beginning and in the days of maids and cooks." "Now, the Serpent is more subtle than any beast of the field. And he has taken many leisure hours away from woman. . . . But woman is almost as subtle as the Serpent." "And now twenty-seven of them . . . steal time to delight their souls in at least two plays a year and write several papers." Miss Mary L. Wiggin is President for 1951-1952; Miss Isadore F. Morrison, Vice President; and Miss Bertha Fellows, Secretary-Treasurer. The Club claims to be the oldest in the State with continuous existence.



## Contributors

Professor ROBERT CECIL BALD of Cornell University is editor of two of Thomas Middleton's plays and author of numerous monographs and articles dealing with Tudor and Stuart drama and bibliography. At present he is a Fellow at the Huntington Library, where he is completing a book about John Donne.

Professor HENRY EDWARD CAIN, a regular contributor to *SAB*, is Chairman of the Department of English at the Catholic University of America.

ALAN SEYMOUR DOWNER, Professor of English at Princeton, and Secretary of the English Institute, is the author of numerous articles about Elizabethan acting.

Professor GEORGE IAN DUTHIE of McGill University, Montreal, Canada, is the author of *The "Bad Quarto" of Hamlet* and of *Elizabethan Shorthand and the First Quarto of King Lear* and editor of *King Lear*. He is associated with Professor John Dover Wilson in the New Cambridge Edition of Shakespeare.

Miss UNA MARY ELLIS-FERMOR, Hildreth Carlile Professor at Bedford College, London, is the author of *Christopher Marlowe, Jacobean Drama, Masters of Reality, Frontiers of Drama*, and *Shakespeare the Dramatist*. She is also General Editor of the Arden Edition of Shakespeare, now in progress.

Professor GWYNNE BLAKEMORE EVANS, Jr., of the University of Illinois, recently published an edition of the works of William Cartwright, the seventeenth-century poet and playwright. Now he is engaged in editing *1 Henry VI* for the Variorum Shakespeare.

WILLIAM HALLER, Emeritus Professor of English of Barnard College, Columbia University, and now Honorary Fellow at the Folger Shakespeare Library, is best known by his *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution, 1638-1647, The Leveller Tracts*, and *The Rise of Puritanism*.

Professor Emeritus HENRY CARRINGTON LANCASTER of Johns Hopkins University is famous for his five-volume *History of French Drama and Literature in the Seventeenth Century*.

JOHN HENDERSON LONG is a member of the Department of English of Morehead State College, Morehead, Kentucky.

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Professor HALLETT DARIUS SMITH, Chairman of the Department of the Humanities at the California Institute of Technology, is joint editor with Professor Roy Lamson of *The Golden Hind*.

Professor Emeritus JOHN DUNCAN ERNST SPAETH of Princeton continues in retirement to lecture on Shakespeare and to review most of the important books about Shakespeare. He is author of *Old English Poetry* and *Science and Humanism in University Education*.

Professor GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR., of George Washington University, is one of the editors of *The London Stage*, now in preparation.

Miss MARGARET WEBSTER has Renaissance versatility. The author of *Shakespeare and the Modern Theatre*, she acts, produces and directs Shakespeare, gives poetry readings in the Coolidge Auditorium of the Library of Congress, and directs the production of *Aida* for the Metropolitan Opera.

